SOCIAL MOBILITY AND STATUS-IDENTIFICATION AMONG THE SCHEDULED CASTES
(A STUDY OF SCHEDULED CASTE GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES IN KANPUR CITY)

A Thesis Submitted
In Partial fulfilment of the Requirements
for the Degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

By
NANDU RAM

to the
DEPARTMENT OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
INDIAN INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY, KANPUR
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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the thesis "Social Mobility
ad Status-Identification among the Scheduled Castes: A
tudy of Scheduled Caste Government Employees in Kanpur City"
ubmitted by Mr. Nandu Ram in partial fulfilment of the
egree of Doctor of Philosophy to the Indian Institute of
'echnology, Kanpur, is a record of bonafide research work
:arried out by him under my supervision and guidance for the
last three and half years. The results embodied in the
thesis have not been submitted to any other university or
Institute for the award of any degree or diploma.

November 25, 1976

K.N.SHARMA

CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that Mr. Nandu Ram has satisfactorily completed all the course requirements in the Ph.D. programme in Sociology.

The courses include:

H.Soc. 720 : Survey Design and Analysis

H.Soc. 725 : Social Change in Developing Societies

H.Soc. 761 : Social Structure and Political Power

H.Soc. 561 : Politics of Development

H.Soc. 762 : Political Theory

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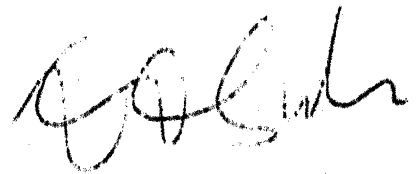H.Psy. 784 : Applied Social Psychology

Mr. Nandu Ram was admitted to the candidacy of the Ph.D. degree in Jan. 1973 after he successfully completed the written and the oral qualifying examinations.

K.N Sharma

(K.N. Sharma)
Head
Department of Humanities and
Social Sciences

(P.P. Sah)
Acting Convener
Departmental Post-Graduate
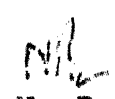Committee

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Finally, I am grateful to my respondents who interacted with me both in formal and informal ways during the period of data collection. Hence, I dedicate this volume to them and to millions of the Scheduled Castes who are 'either mobile or getting equipped for upward mobility'.

(N. Ram)

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submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy by Nandu Ram
to the Department of Humanities and Social Sciences,
Indian Institute of Technology, Kanpur, November,1976.

The system of the 'Protective Discrimination' grants
special privileges to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled
Tribes in India. With its introduction in the late nine-
teenth century it has contributed much to the upliftment of
the Scheduled Castes. However, a systematic assessment of
the functions and operations of this system has long been
overdue. It is apparent that a small number of persons
belonging to various Scheduled Castes have benefited from
the policy of the 'Protective Discrimination' regarding
education, employment in government departments and
legislatures. These persons get an opportunity to occupy
different and probably better socio-economic positions,
like the persons of other castes. There is every likelihood
that they may be forging new social relations with the
people in their work-place and elsewhere, irrespective of
caste considerations. In the language of mobility these

persons are socially mobile in comparison to the generation of their fathers. Such persons have, no doubt, achieved better status in the caste and class hierarchies. However, they may be facing problems of identification.

Keeping the above mentioned views in mind the present study aims to identify the nature, amount and directions of social mobility taking place among the Scheduled Caste Government employees at Kanpur. We propose to investigate in this study the changes in social status of such persons of the Scheduled Castes; determining factors and indicators of such changes, and measurement of achieved and ascribed statuses and their congruity. In this context, our aim is also to measure status-anxiety resulting from an incongruity between the achieved and ascribed statuses of the mobile persons of the Scheduled Castes.

At the level of identification, this study plans to examine the nature and levels of status-identification. It measures identification at the levels of ethnocentric and contra-identification. Ethnocentrism has been analysed in terms of identification with one's own caste while contra-identification has been explicated, in this investigation, through positive and negative orientations to and acceptance of behaviour of reference group/individuals. In addition, the contra-identification is measured in terms of

identification at the class level also. Again, at the level of identification the study proposes to investigate patterns of social interaction and social relation of the upwardly mobile Scheduled Castes persons with their parental stratum and with that of their destiny.

The present study has been conducted within a framework based on two sets of four inter-related theories. These theories are: the theory of Social Mobility propounded by S.M. Lipset and Hans L. Zetterberg; the theory of Status-Congruence formulated by George C. Homans; Merton's theory of Reference Group Behaviour and the theory of Ethnocentric and Contra-identification advanced by A.C. Paranjpe. More clearly, social mobility has been measured within the theoretical frameworks of Lipset and Zetterberg, and of Homans. Similarly, status-identification has been examined within the frameworks provided by Merton and Paranjpe.

This study is restricted to the Scheduled Caste government employees working in Kanpur city. In all 240 persons employed in different cadres of jobs were interviewed. The selection of the respondents was based on a stratified random sampling, i.e. they were selected representatively from each cadre of services ranging from class IV (16.7%) to class I (1.7%) administrative jobs in both the State and Central Government offices. The respondents employed in other cadres of jobs ware : lower and upper clerical

and lower technical staff 16.7 percent, 40.4 percent and 7.9 percent respectively; class III technical and non-technical supervisory staff 13.3 percent, and class II technical and non-technical officers 3.3 percent.

In the first set of the problem which is a measurement of social mobility in the class system, several items of the background information of the respondents have been treated as independent variables and social mobility as the dependent variable. In the second set, various dimensions of social mobility like education, job-cadres, income, expenditure and social power, which influence one's social status, have been viewed as independent variables, while consequence of social mobility in terms of achievement of status in the caste-hierarchy has been treated as the dependent variable. In the last set, status-identification has been considered as the dependent and socio-personal background and social mobility (change of status in both the class and caste systems) of the respondent as independent variables.

The socio-economic status of the respondents and that of their families, and social distance between them and their non-scheduled castes acquaintances have been measured through Kuppuswamy and Bogardus (modified) scales. Similarly, caste-status has been measured on the basis of opinion of twenty knowledgeable persons belonging to non-

scheduled castes. Finally, mobility indices are constructed for measuring the amount and the directions of social mobility.

The dissertation is divided into seven chapters. The first chapter discusses the nature and trends of social mobility in different societies in general as well as in India in particular. Besides reviewing the literature on social mobility comprehensively this chapter poses certain aspects of the inquiry regarding social mobility and status-identification among the government employees belonging to various Scheduled Castes. The second chapter deals with the research-design adopted in the present study. Besides the analysis and justifiability of the theoretical frameworks this chapter provides methodological explanations on the basis of which the present study has been conducted. All the major hypotheses and key concepts have been explicated in this chapter. Social surroundings of Kanpur city and socio-personal background of the respondents are high-lighted in chapter three.

The major thesis of the present dissertation starts from chapter four onward. The fourth chapter analyses social mobility among the respondents within the frame of a model based on multi-dimensions, i.e. education, job-cadres, income, expenditure and social power, besides a brief discussion of socio-personal background of the respondents and that of their fathers. In addition, this chapter measures the amount and

the directions of social mobility. Chapter five primarily deals with social mobility among the respondents in the caste system. More clearly, social status of the respondents are measured in the class and caste hierarchies. An effort has been made to find out congruity between the class and caste statuses. The identification of status in terms of ethno-centrism and contra-identification is measured in chapter six. The last chapter presents a resume of this investigation besides examining an emerging trend of social mobility and status-identification. In addition, an effort has been made to correlate the 'protective discrimination policy' with the emergence of a new-middle class in India.

The findings emerging out of the analysis of the data are multifarious. A majority of the respondents coming from villages belong to Chamar, Kori and Pasi castes and are educated upto graduate and post-graduate levels. Coming from the younger age-group of 24-45 years most of them are married. Such respondents reside in localities of both the Scheduled and non-scheduled castes though they face problems in occupying houses in non-scheduled caste localities.

Within the framework of multi-dimensions almost all the respondents (98.7%) are upwardly mobile and the average scores of their mobility are higher (23.2) than that of their fathers (8.1). Similarly, the average amount of their social mobility is 21.9 though in case of 13.3 percent

respondents the individual amount of their social mobility
is between 30-44. The amount of social mobility among the
respondents is causally related to their age, job, service-
seniority and the socio-economic status of their families.
But the other variables, like caste and residential background
of the respondents, do not have any bearing on the amount of
their social mobility. Similar is the case of causal
relationship between the directions of their social mobility
and social background of the respondents.

Most of the respondents have achieved a middle class
status and raised their status in the caste-hierarchy on the
basis of their interaction with people of non-scheduled castes.
However, there are 12.5 percent respondents who do not
visualise any change in their caste status. Again, 57.9
percent respondents have achieved a middle level 'social
status', based on the subjective, composite and corporate
criteria of status evaluation, in a multiple status hierarchy
of caste and class. Hence, there are 15.8 percent respondents
who suffer from status-anxiety resulting from incongruity
between their class and caste statuses, and also from their low
social status in the multiple status hierarchy. But in real
sense, most of the respondents suffer from their 'stigmatized
identity'. Such respondents feel worried at the time of their
occasional humiliation by people of non-scheduled castes.

Finally, a large majority of the respondents (90.8%) identify themselves at the level of contra-identification in which most of them identify at the class and some at the non-caste class levels, i.e. they identify at a non-hierarchical level. There are only 9.2 percent respondents who are ethnocentric. Such findings are verified through their adoption of reference group/individual behaviour also. Around 10 percent respondents are in a state of an ambivalence as, on the one hand, they strongly oppose the hierarchical identification and, on the other, they show their orientation towards the protective discriminations provided by the Government for the Scheduled Castes.

The findings of this study suggest the emergence of a new middle class consisting of the salaried persons of the Scheduled Castes. Such a middle class which is an outcome of the 'protective discrimination' policy is quite distinct from the old middle class due to its historical background and origin. The members of the new middle class have not yet been able to get themselves fully accepted in the old middle class. In addition, they suffer from status-anxiety resulting from an incongruity between their statuses in the class and caste hierarchies. Moreover, members of this class have an ambivalent identification. At one time they identify themselves at the level of their caste and, at other times, at the level of contra-identification.

CHAPTER I

Caste-System and Social Mobility in India:

In India caste has been the sole basis of stratification. If we look at the Indian society, particularly Hindu social system of even a hundred years ago, it is clear that the whole Hindu population was divided into numerous castes and sub-castes within a wider system of Varna. The system of caste, in principle, has been a rigid social system in which no person belonging to a certain caste group was allowed to accept membership of the other caste groups.Ritual and social distances, through taboos on pollutary things, and restrictions on interdining and intermarrying, were strictly observed. There were only some channels in the system, especially in the form of Jajmani relations, through which people of all the caste groups were related to one another. Thus, the caste-system maintained an interdependence of castes through the functioning of roles assigned to different caste groups. The status of a person vis-a-vis his caste was determined by his birth in his caste, though other factors like economic and political power added a substantial amount of prestige to his esteem. But, according to Dumont[1], both

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1. Dumont, Louis Homo-Hierarchicus: The Caste System and its
   Implications. New Delhi: Vikas Publications,1970,pp.24,30-64.

status and power were separate in the caste system even in early periods. A person having more power had inferior status in the caste-hierarchy if he belonged to a lower caste group.

"Theoretically, there were only two obvious means of improving status. One was by opting out of society and becoming an ascetic. The other was by ensuring rebirth in a higher social status in one's next life, and here the social implications of the idea of Karma are significant."[2] Contrary to the view mentioned above there are some social historians, sociologists and social anthropologists[3] who have argued in favour of flexibility in the caste system even during the early periods of Indian history. In their view, people adopted

2. Thapar, Romila "Social Mobility in Ancient India with special reference to Elite Groups" in Indian Society: Historical Probings - In Memory of D.D. Kosambi - R.S. Sharma and Vivekanand Jha (eds.). New Delhi: Peoples Publishing House, 1974 (May), p.99.

3. Srinivas, M.N. Social Change in Modern India. Bombay: Allied Publishers, 1966, pp.89-117 ; his "Mobility in the Caste System" in Structure and Change in Indian Society - Milton Singer and Bernard S. Cohn (eds.), Chicago : Aldine Publishing Co., 1968, pp. 189-200; William L. Rowe - "Mobility in the Nineteenth Century Caste System" in Structure and Change in Indian Society, 1968, pp. 201-207; his "Social Mobility in Hindu India" in Social Mobility in the Caste System in India - James Silverberg (ed.). The Hague: Mouton-The Publishers, 1968, pp.18-35; B.N. Sharma- Social Life in Northern India, Delhi: Munshiram Manohar Lal, 1966, pp.36-73; Andre Beteille - Caste: Old and New. Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1969; David G. Mandlebaum - Society in India: Continuity and Change, Vol. I. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970, p.7.

occupations other than their caste callings. Interdining and, in exceptional cases, intercaste marriages were also not unknown. In the words of Romila Thapar,[4] "--- mobility was not totally excluded from this scheme (mentioned in her earlier quotation). Downward mobility was easy enough. Upward mobility was far more difficult and not open to the individual But the group mobility was possible through a period of time by changing habitations, geographical location and occupation of the entire group." More specifically, mobility occurred in periods of political power and availability of the marginal land, i.e. only those groups were mobile which had political power and, at least, marginal land. In other words, marginal land helped them acquire better income and style of life. Consequently, the rank of a caste varied irrespective of its position in the ritual-hierarchy. But the status of a person in the system remained the same as was determined by his birth in a particular caste. Moreover, caste system checked even a limited chance of mobility if not of all castes, then, at least, of the lowest caste groups. It was the superior economic and political power besides the ritual superiority of the upper castes that kept the lower castes suppressed.

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4.   Op. cit., pp. 120-121. Thapar found a limited horizontal mobility among elites of Brahman, Kshatriya and Vaishya -- closed groups in ancient India.

Social Disabilities of the Scheduled Castes:

It is very difficult to produce emperically a
generalized picture of social disabilities[5] of the Scheduled
Castes due to various reasons. One, there are numerous castes
and sub-castes among the Scheduled Castes residing in
different regions all over the country. In one region a
particular caste may be placed in a lower position, but in
other regions the same caste is assigned a comparatively
better social status in the caste-hierarchy. Two, a Scheduled
Caste in a certain region is placed in a better position in
the caste-hierarchy but the other caste of the similar social
and economic position has an inferior rank in the same region.
And finally, there are some Scheduled Castes which are related
to non-scheduled caste groups through Jajmani and other
relations. On certain occasions they defile other caste
people through their traditionally assigned roles, but outside
these roles, their social intercourse with others is accepted[*]
In such situations there may not be a unanimity about social
disabilities of the Scheduled Castes. But if one looks
carefully at the caste system, one can easily make out

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5. Regarding religious and social disabilities of the
   Scheduled Castes (previously Untouchable castes) a sketchy
   reference can be seen in L.S.S.O. Malley's Indian Caste
   Customs. Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, Pvt. Ltd.,1974
   (reprinted) pp. 143-149.

* For example, a Chamar agricultural labourer in eastern U.P.
   villages does not defile Jaggery (Gur) when it is being
   made, but if he touches it after the process of manufact-
   uring, he defiles it.

a reason for such regional differences in the status of the Scheduled Castes in the caste-hierarchy. The system itself, in principle, sanctions most of the social disabilities of these castes, and the 'sanctions' govern the course of interaction of all castes in actual practice.

There is no denying the fact that numerous social, religious and legal disabilities had been imposed on the Scheduled Castes previously known by different names like Ayogava, Chandala, Paulkas, Nishada, Antyaja, Untouchables, Panchama and Depressed Classes.[6] They were denied the rights of drawing water from public wells, admission to schools, and services of community priests, barbers and washermen. They endured humiliating restrictions in the use of umbrella and 'dolis' (palanquins), and their women could not wear bangles and any clothes above the waist. They were prevented from taking out a procession on occasions of weddings or festival ceremonies and had to live in houses built in a different manner: "The social conception of theological contamination, Chhut, which prevented the lower orders from association with the higher castes, resulted in artificial ceremonies of purification, remained in force rigorously from the medieval

6. Ghurye, G.S.   Caste and Race in India. Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1969 (Fifth Edition), pp. 51-113.

periods"[7].

People of the Untouchable Castes were segregated from the habitations of general population and were asked to reside outside the village boundary. We have examples cases in which the Untouchables were supposed to stay outside city walls,[8] and wherever, they were allowed to live in cities and towns, they were segregated to reside in separate colonies which could be favourably compared with modern slums. Besides, in some regions in South India there had been standardized measurements for maintaining physical distance between the untouchables and other caste people.[9] The hate and repulsion against these people were at climax during the Gupta period (Around 400 A.D.) when their sight and shadows carried pollution and defiled the higher caste people. There-fore, they were supposed to shout a warning to keep other

7. Raghubanshi, V.P.S.   Indian Society in the 18th Century. New Delhi: Associated Publishing House, 1969,p.19; Mohinder Singh - The Depressed Classes : The Economic and Social Conditions. Bombay: Hind Kitabs, 1947.

8. Edwardes, Michael   Everyday Life in Early India. London: B.T. Batsford, Ltd., 1961, p.28; V.P.S. Raghubanshi, op. cit., p.19.

9. Majumdar, D.N. and T.N. Madan   An Introduction to Social Anthropology. Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1957, pp.231-232; G.S. Ghurye, op. cit.; also referred in Harold R. Isaacs' India's Ex-Untouchables. Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1965, pp. 27-28.

caste people away from their contaminating shadow.

Economically, they were engaged in hereditary menial jobs in the traditional economy. As they were related to other caste people through Jajmani relations, they received occasional payments not in the form of cash but in kind.Again, a majority of the Untouchable castes were landless labourers engaged in agricultural pursuits on low payment. "Members of tha low castes (specially Untouchables), assigned to the most menial and compatible occupations, could never aspire to the status of peasants holding or cultivating land of their own."[10] More than that, they used to consume coarse grains and most of them were dependent on unclean materials left by other caste people (Uchchistha) and also on the flesh of carion.

People of the Untouchable castes suffered a lot from religious disabilities also as no community Brahman Purohit performed any ceremony for them. Being debarred from entry into temples they sought to propitiate local deities and damons by sacrificing unclean animals (pig, etc.). They also believed in numerous superistitions. In principle, they were a part of the organization at village, town or city level, and

10. Habib, I.   The Agrarian System of Mughal India (1556-
    1707), New York: Asia Publishing House, 1963, referred
    in Joan P. Mencher's "Caste System Upside Down or The
    Not-So-Mysterious East", Current Anthropology, (Dec.)
    1974, p.472.

were governed under the same rules. But in real sense, they were not supposed to give their opinion in decision-making on any issue. Their views were assumed in favour without consulting them. Thus, they were kept away from the local 'politics'.

On the whole, their low rank ".... was derived from cumulative inequalities in the (social), economic, political and ritual systems"[11]. They had an extremely wretched position in the society and were "condemned to permanent social degradation, denied elementary civic rights, and rigidity, excluded from all public places, even the neighbourhood of caste Hindus"[12].

In examining the aforesaid social disabilities of the Scheduled Castes one can easily argue about various forces and conditions which checked these people from revolting against the social system in the past. Moore[13] gives some reasons to such stagnation. He says, "Strikes of the modern sort, the Untouchables scarcely knew, partly because labourers were broken up into different castes, ... Another was the

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11. Beteille, Andre, op. cit., p.93.

12. Raghubanshi, V.P.S., Op. cit., p.52.

13. Moore, Barrington Jr. Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lords and Peasants in the Making of the Modern World. Boston: Beacon Press, 1967, pp. 334-337.

fact that higher castes often preferred small returns, with less trouble and supervision, to standing over workers and trying to compel them to improve their ways." Moore further extends his arguments and states that "The lower castes disciplined themselves. Members of the lower castes had to learn to accept their place in the social order. On this score, the leaders of the lower castes evidently had an important task to perform. For doing so they received quite concrete rewards. Sometimes they received commissions on the wages of labourers from their castes as well as fines for any trans-gressions of caste regulations". More than that, at the doctrine level, the peasants and lower castes accepted the theory of reincarnation and responded accordingly. But their attitude toward the monopolist of supernatural power seems to have been a mixture of admiration, fear, and hostility.... (334-35). One may raise some doubts about the validity of such arguments, especially higher castes'attitudes toward peasant and lower castes, presented by Moore but one cannot deny his basic contention about the harsh and unequal treatment meted out to the Untouchables.

Further, one can agree with Mencher[14] when answering a self-imposed question she accepts that, "We have no idea

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14. Mencher, Joan, P.   Op. Cit., p.473.

how many unsuccessful (or may be occasionally successful) rebellions there were in the past by untouchables, but it is possible that when they thought they had a chance to succeed, they tried." There are examples of some scattered revolts launched by lower castes including the Uncoutables,[15] some for economic betterment and some exclusively for raising their overall social status in the caste-hierarchy. But we do not have a systematic account of all such efforts made in a well-organized form .

The Evolution of Ortho-genetic Changes:

Four specific trends of changes evolved during the Pax Britannica (the period between 1857 and 1947) and the lead in bringing them about was taken by a number of enlightened Indians. The leaders of these trends can be classified as the reformists, and nationalists, on one hand, and reformists - nationalists and the revolutionaries, on the other.

The reformists were those who believed in social reforms to be brought prior to the national freedom. They

15. Unni, K.R. - Caste in South Malabars (The Study of the Cherumans), Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, 1959 referred in Menchor's "Caste System Upside Down..." ibid; I.Habib, Op.Cit. Habib has discussed the movements led by Satnamis and Sikks; Steward M.Gordon-"Scarfs and Sword: Thugs, Marasdars and State formation in 18th century Malawa", "Indian Economic and Social History Review, Vol.6,1969, referred in Menchor's "Caste System Upside Down..."; E.Kathleen Gough - "Harijans in Tanjavur" in Imperialism and Revolution in South Asia-Gough and H.P.Sharma (eds.). New York: Monthly Review Press, 1973, referred by Menchor, p.474.

founded three separate schools in Eastern, Western and
Southern parts of the country. They had their roots in
various 'Samajs' and 'Missions![16] In some regions the
reformists passed resolutions in favour of throwing schools
and colleges open to women and lower caste children, and also
in favour of abolition of sub-castes. If we accept a broader
sense of the term nationalism as has been discussed by
Ambedkar[17] and several others, then it is clear that the
reformists were the real nationalists who tried to purify the
system and educate various segments of the people in India.
They also tried to evolve one single homogeneous Indian
society out of diverse elements. But except in few cases,
such social reform measures, by and large, were centred around
the Hindu religion and family. They could not generate a
sense of reorganization and reconstruction of the Hindu
society as a whole. "These efforts left the core of the
traditional beliefs, practically intact. The reformist
movements, therefore, remained essentially as fringe-movements,

16. Various 'Samajs' were like Brahma Samaj, Arya Samaj,
    Prarthana Samaj,Satya Sodhak Samaj - launched by Jyoti Rao
    Phule , and Rama Krishna and several Christian Missions.
    A vivid discussion in this regard can be seen in Genjun
    H. Sasaki's Social and Humanistic Life in India.New Delhi:
    Abhinav Publications, 1971, pp.116-32; S.Natarajan - A
    Century of Social Reform in India. Bombay: Asia Publishing
    House, 1962; and R.C. Majumdar - Struggle for Freedom.
    Bombay: Bhartiya Vidya Bhawan, 1969.
17. Rajasekhariah, A.M.   B.R.Ambedkar - Politics of
    Emancipation. Bombay: Sindhu Publications Private,Ltd.,
    1971, p.76.

while the main philosophy based on the cardinal Hindu beliefs remained yet to be brought under withering criticism for social change...."[18]

The second trend was generated and advanced by the nationalists, agglomerated from different backgrounds, whose major concern was the transfer of power, while social reform was of secondary importance for them.[19] Again, the third trend was led by Ambedkar and his supporters including the Maharaja of Kolhapur who mixed both the issues of social reform and transfer of power together, and gave major emphasis on the former one. Though bitterly criticised by the nationalists, they fought for social reform as well as share of existing power by the lower caste people first and freedom from the British impirialism afterwards. Finally, the fourth trend of the revolutionary activities was led by those who believed in an overall change in the Indian society to be brought not through negotiations but through revolts and

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18. Ibid, p.18.

19. An interesting discussion on this issue can be seen in books: Anil Seal - The Emergence of Indian Nationalism. Cambridge: At the University Press, 1969; S.R.Mehrotra - The Emergence of the Indian National Congress. Delhi: Vikas Publications, 1971; Christine Dobbin - Urban Leadership in Western India: Politics and Communities in Bombay City (1840-1885). London: Oxford University Press, 1972; John Gallagher, Gordon Johnson and Anil Seal (eds.)- Locality, Province, and Nation: Essays on Indian Politics, (1870-1940). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973; and Gordon Johnson - Provincial Politics and Indian Nationalism, Bombay and the Indian National Congress (1880-1915).Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973.

violence. It's main concern was with the common problems of the exploited sections irrespective of their caste background. But this trend was openly opposed by the British rule in India and also by those nationalists who adopted non-violent means to achieve political independence.[20] Thus, the revolutionary activities, by and large, could not achieve as much success as they ought to have.

Now at this stage, it is most difficult to ascertain the number of untouchables who started changing at that time and to what degree they adopted any change. But in this connection one could agree with Moore[21] again, when he says, "That the lower strata are not the straight forward creation of pax Britannica will bear repeating. One may even hesitate to claim that their relation to their employers changed fundamentally during the British period." Ambedkar[22] also blamed the British Government in India for adopting a policy of non-interference which indirectly supported the caste-system and could not remove the social disabilities of the

20. Moore, Barrington Jr.   Op. cit., p.316.

21. Ibid, p.369.

22. B.R. Ambedkar's Speech at the Plenary Session of the First Round Table Conference - Proceedings of the Indian Round Table Conference, 12th November, 1930 - 19th Jan., 1931, pp. 124-25, referred in A.M. Rajasekhariah's B.R. Ambedkar: The Politics of Emancipation, 1971, pp. 20-21.

Untouchables as they were kept, more or less, in a position similar to that of the earlier times.

Government Measures:

All the four trends, mentioned above could achieve substantive amount of success during the British period. More than that, they prompted the Government to enact several laws to remove social disabilities of the Untouchable Castes (here onwards Scheduled Castes) at the provincial and national levels. At provincial level, particularly in Madras Province, the congress Government spent lakhs of rupees on education and public health of the Scheduled Castes during the period 1937-40. These facilities were provided in the form of opening of schools and hostels, fee remissions and scholarships, boarding grants and book allowances to prosecute their studies and pursue industrial and technical trainings. Besides, reservation (8.33 percent) was given in appointments to candidates belonging to the Scheduled Castes and some special concessions were granted to them in matter of age and quali-fications.[23] Similar steps were taken in the States of Bihar, Bombay, Madhya Pradesh, Madhya Bharat, U.P., Mysore (Karnatak), West Bengal, Delhi and others. In 1923 Bombay Government also, issued a circular "that no grants would be paid to any

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23. Rajgopalachari, C. Ambedkar Refuted, Bombay: Hind Kitabs, 1946, pp.26-28.

aided educational institution which refused admission to the children belonging to the depressed classes."

In 1914, Madras Government pledged to discontinue inhuman practices against the lower castes and delegated powers to the Village Magistrates (officers controlling villages at that time) to punish offenders even by putting them into jails. Again, in 1925, the Government passed a bill in favour of throwing open public places for the people of these castes. In 1936, the then Maharaja of Travancore passed 'Temple Entry Proclamation' which prohibited all restrictions on worship in temples controlled by his Government. Similarly, the United Province also cleared the United Province Removal of Social Disabilities Act, 1946[24]. Besides, Castes Disabilities Act was passed, at the national level, in 1850[25]. Inspite of all such legislative measures no significant change occurred among the Scheduled Castes. For there was a lack of uniformity of laws and their implementation was slack and faulty. Similar was the case of efforts made by various voluntary associations also, though the dynamic leadership of Mahatma Gandhi provided a better ease to the 'Harijans'

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24. Report of the Committee on Untouchability, Economic and Educational Development of the Scheduled Castes and Connected Documents. New Delhi: Department of Social Welfare, Government of India, 1969, pp.3-5.

25. Referred in G.S. GGhurye's Caste, Class and Occupation. Bombay: Popular Book Depot, 1961, p. 181.

(the Scheduled Castes).

After the Independence systematic actions to solve the problems of the Scheduled Castes have been undertaken. The Scheduled Castes have been provided with special rights and privileges, and their interests are safeguarded through various provisions in the Indian Constitution. All such provisions of the Constitution may be, broadly, classified into two categories. First, articles relating to protective measures are 15, 16, 17, 19(5), 23, 29, etc. These articles deal, more specifically, with prohibition of discrimination, reservation in services, abolition of Untouchability, prohibition of forced labours, etc. The second set of articles (46, 164, 275, 330, 334, 335, 338, etc.) relates to welfare measures.[26] The representation of seats for the Scheduled Castes in services and in State Legislatures and in Parliament is provided through articles 330, 332 and 334. Similarly, articles 16 and 335 safeguard their appointment in various public services.[27]

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26. Referred in D.L. Garg's "The Commissioner of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes at work," Journal of the Society for Study of State Governments (Varanasi), Vol. III, No.3, (July-September) 1970, pp.134-35.

27. Dubey, S.N. and Usha Mathur "Welfare Programmes for Scheduled Castes: Content and Administration," Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. VII, No.4, (January) 1972, p.165.

Beside the constitutional provisions for the Scheduled Castes, several Acts and Ordinances, relating to removal of their legal and social disabilities and to an improvement of their economic conditions, were passed in the States of Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Madras, Maharastra, Mysore, Orissa, Punjab, U.P. and West Bengal during 1947-1958. Some of the Acts and Regulations are: Untouchability (Offences) Act, 1955; The Bombay Hindu Places of Public Worship (Entry Authorization) Act, 1956; U.P. Temple Entry (Declaration of Right) Act, 1956; Orissa Debt Bondage Abolition Regulation, 1948; Andhra Pradesh Money-lenders and Debt Relief Regulations, 1960; and Rajasthan Sagari (bonded labour) System Abolition Act, 1969.[28]

In sum, the constitutional provisions and various Acts and Regulations for the safeguards of the Scheduled Castes have been enacted with three broad objectives:

i) to provide reservation to the Scheduled Castes in education, employment and legislators,

ii) to give them protection from social injustices and all forms of exploitation, and

iii) to raise their overall standard and to remove social disabilities from which they suffer. Besides, there seems to be a latent objective also, i.e.

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28. Garg, B.L., Op. Cit., pp. 138-40.

iv)   an improvement in the socio-economic conditions of
        the Scheduled Castes which shall result in the trans-
        formation of the pattern of interaction between the
        Scheduled and non-scheduled castes from hierarchical
        to the egalitarian one.

        Thus, through the provision of a time-bound 'protective
discrimination' scheme, efforts are made to bring the
Scheduled Castes, beside other weaker sections, to a level
where they can compete with the general population of the
country in education, occupation, income, style of life and
political participation. But "... no guide lines have been
established for determining when this goal has been reached,
.... The benefits obviously build a vested interest in their
own perpetuation. To the extent that the correlation breaks
down between caste membership and actual levels of income,
education, and power, the system which relies on such a
correlation becomes less workable and more subject to
criticism."[29] Further, the constitutional safeguards intend
to guarantee educational, occupational and political mobility
which may lead the Scheduled Castes to a better class status.
However, such safeguards do not guarantee a fundamental

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29.   Dushkin, Lelah "Scheduled Caste Politics" in The
      Untouchables in Contemporary India- J.M.Mahar (ed.).
      Arizona: Arizona University Press, 1972, p.169.

improvement in the caste status of the Scheduled Castes.

Review of the Literature:

In the light of the above delineation of the latent
and patent objectives of the constitutional safeguards and
various Acts and Ordinances, one can raise several basic
questions about the success and failure of such safeguards
for the Scheduled Castes. Some of the questions may be: Are
the Scheduled Castes making any significant changes in their
educational, economic and occupational conditions? Have
various concerned laws promoted a new interaction, pattern
among the Scheduled and non-scheduled castes? To what extent
the social and ritual distances between the Scheduled and
non-scheduled castes have decreased? Has the status of the
Scheduled Castes in the caste-hierarchy been affected by the
class status they are achieving? If yes, to what extent?
And, what are the levels of their status identification?
These questions are of major concern to the social scientists
as well as to the political leaders in India.

Bearing some of the above raised questions and other
related issues in mind several studies have been conducted
by social scientists of both India and abroad. Even Govern-
ment . , through various censuses and committees and
commissions, has been making meaningful investigations, of
socio-economic, occupational and demographic conditions of

the Scheduled Castes and of changes taking place among them.
All such studies have analysed one aspect or the other of
the problem either at macro or micro level and have covered
mostly the rural areas except a few ones[30] which have dealt
with the problems of the Scheduled Castes in cities.

Before reviewing the existing literature on the
problems of social change and social mobility among the
Scheduled Castes it is proper to mention some major studies
concerning the changes and mobility in India as a whole. It
is again fruitful to discuss briefly some studies of social
mobility in other societies also as such studies may provide
proper perspective for the conceptual, methodological and
theoretical understanding of the phenomenon.

Ideologically, one can accept that the liberal policy
of continental as well as colonial societies which had to
face the challenges of Marxism provided sufficient background
for the occurrence of social mobility and the study of this
phenomenon. One can further accept that, to some extent,
Marxist ideology also created such opportunity by strongly

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30. Isaacs, Harold R. Op. Cit.; K.C.   Alexander - Social
    Mobility in Kerala. Poona: Deccan College - Postgraduate
    and Research Institute, 1968; S. Saberwal - "Status,
    Mobility and Networks in a Punjabi Industrial Town"
    in his Beyond the Village (ed.). Simla: Indian Institute
    of Advanced Study, 1972, pp. 113-184; S.Patwardhan -
    Change among India's Harijans. New Delhi: Orient
    Longman, 1973.

advocating the rise of the status of proletariat class. But
neither of the ideologies (liberal bourgeois and Marxist)
fully supported the occurrence of social mobility nor they
recognized the study of such phenomenon. Thus, in the words
of Heek[31], "it was especially the revisionist socialist
movement and the radical democratic current within liberalism
which laid the foundation for mobility research."

Sociological researches on social mobility started
during the liberal era at the end of the nineteenth and the
beginning of the twentieth centuries. Although we do not have a
a systematic account of the studies conducted on social
mobility in the nineteenth century, yet we know that the
pioneer lead of this era was taken by P.A.Sorokin (1927).
J.H.Mitgau (1928) and R.Michels (1934). Sorokin[32], besides
his own theoretical contributions, presented a comprehensive
details of the study of social mobility in any society. Taking
the intensity (vertical social distance) and generality
(number of individuals vertically mobile) of vertical mobility

31.   Heek, F. van "Some Introductory Remarks on Social
      Mobility and Class Structure", Transactions of the
      Third World Congress of Sociology, Vol. III. London:
      International Sociological Association, 1956, pp.129-
      143; S.M. Lipset and R.Bendix "Ideological Equalitarian-
      ism and Social Mobility in the United States" in
      Transactions of the Second World Congress of Sociology,
      Vol. II, 1955, pp. 34-54 may also be seen.
32.   Sorokin, P.A. Social and Cultural Mobility. Glencoe:
      The Free Press, 1959 (first impression in 1927).

he made several propositions within the frame of 'social space' - a universe of vertical and horizontal dimensions. Thus, Sorokin's classical work on social and cultural mobility is a turning point for modern researchers of social mobility.

Right from 1950 s to the present time, a number of studies on social mobility have been conducted through both single and multiple approaches. Studies based on single approach argued that occupation was the sole criterion for determining one's social status. Another school of thought in this trend advanced the study of occupational mobility without directly supporting the view of such mobility leading to status mobility of a person. Such a trend of measuring mobility through a single approach is widely followed even in recent studies conducted in Western societies.[33] The second trend emerged with a multiple approach[34] as the single

33. Garnies, Maurice and Lawrence E. Hazelrigg "Father-to-son Occupational Mobility in France: Evidence from the 1960 s" American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 80, No.2 (Sept.) 1974, pp. 478-502; Kenneth Kessin "Social and Psychological Consequences of Intergenerational Occupational Mobility", American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 77, No.1, (July) 1971, pp. 1-18; Aaze B. Sorenson, "The Structure of Intra generational Mobility", American Sociological Review, Vol. 40, No.4, (Aug.) 1975, pp. 456-471; and several other studies conducted during 1970's.

34. Heek, F. Van, op. cit.

criterion was found inadequate for the analysis of social
mobility. Warner and his associates[35] applied the multiple
approach in their community studies.   In addition, Lipset and
Zetterberg[36] formulated a theory of social mobility suggest-
ing several dimensions for further researches.

In the fifties a number of studies had been conducted
on different aspects of social mobility like occupational
(career) mobility, mobility and trade union membership, social
mobility and urbanization, mobility and business elite, etc.
Lipset and Bendix[37], for instance, in their comprehensive
study of an industrial society cast doubt on the validity
of a number of generalizations widely accepted by several
authors.   Some of the major generalizations are: "(1) that
there has been substantially less mobility in Europe than in
the United States, (2) that social mobility tends to decline
as industrial societies mature, and (3) that opportunities for

35.   Warner, W. Lloyd   American Life. Chicago, 1953,
      referred in Heek's " Some Introductory Remarks on Social
      Mobility", 1956, p.133.

36.   Lipset, S.M. and Hans L. Zetterberg "A Theory of Social
      Mobility" in Transactions of the Third World Congress
      of Sociology, Vol. III. London: International
      Sociological Association, 1956, pp. 155-177.

37.   Lipset, S.M. and R. Bendix   Social Mobility in
      Industrial Society California: University of
      California Press, 1959.

entrance into the business elite become more restricted with mature industrialization". On the basis of a careful analysis of the then existing literature Lipset and Bendix forwarded a thesis "that social mobility is an integral and continuing aspect of the process of industrialization". They brought together and analyzed comparative international research on social mobility and worked "toward continuity and cumulation" of theoretical and practical interest. In support of their thesis they presented data from their empirical study of mobility in Oakland, California, and, thus, provided a framework for research on the causes and consequences of social mobility.

In the said decade another study was edited by D.V. Glass[38] which comprehended the phenomenon of social mobility in Great Britain. Various areas of inquiry like occupational grading, educational experience, intergenerational changes in status, methods of mobility measurements, mobility and marriage, and international comparison of social mobility were covered by different authors. In this volume, based on quantitative techniques, the authors viewed occupation as an inadequate index of social status of a person though they

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38. Glass, D.V. (ed.) Social Mobility in Britain. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd.,1954 (Fourth impression in 1967).

themselves used a single criterion of occupation as an initial
index for measuring levels of social status. These studies
measured amount, rate, directions and channels of social
mobility occuring in the British community as a whole. Another
more conceptual and methodologically sophisticated study was
conducted by measuring determinants and trends of social
mobility in Denmark.[39]

The phenomenon of social mobility has been analyzed
within the framework of institutional norms consisting of
structure, functional correlates and processes also. The
amount of such mobility has been measured in "open class" and
"caste" type societies of the United States, Western Europe and
India. Barber[40], for example, has measured correlation between
social mobility and different determining factors like family,
education, work organizations, symbolic justification and
political organizations. He has presented an account of
variability in amount and degree of social mobility in
different types of societies in the past and present and has
examined some of the reasons for such variations. But he has
failed to provide a generalized quantitative measure of social

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39. Svalastoga, Karre   Prestige, Class and Mobility. London:
    William Heinemann, 1959.

40. Barber, Bernard   Social Stratification: A Comparative
    Analysis of Structure and Process, New York: Harcourt
    Brace & World, Inc. 1957, Chapters 13-17.

mobility. Besides, International Sociological Congress[41] also devoted a full session discussing various aspects of social mobility in different societies measured through both the single and multiple approaches. In addition, several reports[42] also presented the trends of study of social mobility in different societies.

After the publication of a widely quoted study of Rogoff[43] a number of researches[44] have been conducted on various aspects of social mobility measured through the single factor approach of occupation. This trend has been followed

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41. Transactions of the Third World Congress of Sociology, Vol. III. London: International Sociological Association, 1956.

42. Mac Rae, Donald G. "Social Stratification: A Trend Report," Current Sociology, Vol. II, No.1, 1953-54, pp. 7-31; Louis Wirth - "Social Stratification and Social Mobility in the United States, "Current Sociology Vol.II, No.4, 1953-54, pp. 279-303; Several other papers were presented to the First International Working Conference on Social Stratification and Social Mobility, International Sociological Association, August, 1951.

43. Rogoff, Natalie - Recent Trends in Occupational Mobility. Glencoe: The Free Press, 1953.

44. Billewitz, W.Z. "Some Remarks on the Measurement of Social Mobility", Population Studies, Vol. 9, (July) 1955, pp. 96-100 Peter M. Blau "Social Mobility and Interpersonal Relations", American Sociological Review, Vol. 21, (June) 1956, pp. 290-95 and several others.

by several authors in 1960 s and early 1970 s also. In the

sixties, most of the efforts centered around methodological

issues in the study of social mobility. A trend of quanti-

tative measurement started and a number of mathematical models

were built up.[45] From the points of view of subject matter,

the studies conducted during the said period covered, by and

large, the concepts and consequences[46] of social mobility.

In the early 1970 s attention is paid to an examina-

tion of various aspects of social mobility through more

sophisticated techniques. For example, Hawkes[47] tried to

45. Yasuda, Saburo "A methodological Inquiry into Social
    Mobility", American Sociological Review, Vol.29, No.1,
    (Feb.) 1964, pp.16-23; Leo A. Goodman, "On the Statistical
    Analysis of Mobility Tables", American Journal of
    Sociology, Vol. 70, No.5, (March) 1965, pp.564-585; O.D.
    Duncan "Methodological Issues in the Analysis of Social
    Mobility" in Social Structure and Mobility in Economic
    Development-Neil J. Smelser and S.M.Lipset (eds.).
    Chicago: Aldine, 1966, pp.51-97; J.Matras, "Social
    Mobility and Social Structure: Some Insights from the
    Liner Models, "American Sociological Review, Vol.32,
    (Aug.) 1967, pp.608-614; Robert McGinnis, "A Stochastic
    Model of Social Mobility, "American Sociological Review,
    Vol. 33, No.5, (Oct.)1968, pp.712-22; Leo A. Goodman,
    "How to Ransack Social Mobility Tables and other Kinds of
    Cross Classification Tables", American Journal of Sociology,
    Vol. 75, (July) 1969, pp. 1-40.

46. Westoff, C.F.; M. Bresseler and P.C. Sagi "The Concept of
    Social Mobility: An Empirical Enquiry", American Sociolo-
    gical Review, Vol. 25, (June) 1960, pp.375-385; R.A.Ellis
    and W.C. Lane "Social Mobility and Isolation: A Test of
    Sorokin's Dissociative hypothesis," American Sociological
    Review, Vol.32, (April) 1967, pp.237-253; J. Lopreato
    "Upward Social Mobility and Political Orientation",
    American Sociological Review, Vol.32,(Aug.) 1967,pp.585-592.

47. Hawkes, Ronald K."Some Methodological Problems in Explain-
    ing Social Mobility", American Sociological Review,Vol.37,
    No.3,(June) 1972,pp.294-300. His model has been discussed
    briefly in chapter four.

measure inter-generational social mobility with the help of a mathematical model in which he emphasized achievement orientation (A) as an intervening variable though with his own data such a variable could not function favourably. Further, the Oxford Group[48] of social scientists published a volume consisting of about a dozen working papers in which they explored and advanced the "State of the technical apparatus for the study of mobility...." By explaining uses of multivariate analysis in description of social mobility, problems, like occupational grading and occupational prestige, social mobility and fertility, and marriage have been analyzed through highly sophisticated methodology and results have been drawn quantitatively.

Apart from the methodological issues, factors[49] like education, housing conditions, and parental values leading to social mobility were also taken into account. At the level of consequences[50], social mobility has been analysed in terms

48. Hope, Keith (ed.)   The Analysis of Social Mobility:Methods and Approaches - Oxford studies in Social Mobility - working papers I. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972.

49. Thompson Patricia G. "Some Factors in Upward Mobility in England, "Sociology and Social Research, Vol.55, No.2, (Jan.) 1971, pp.181-190; Barbara Jacobson and John M. Kendrick "Education and Mobility: From Achievement to Ascription", American Sociological Review, Vol.38, No.4, (Aug.)1973,pp.439-460; Alan B. Simmons "Social Mobility in Bogota, Columbia", International Journal of Comparative Sociology, Vol. xvi, Nos. 3-4, (Sept.-Dec.) 1975, pp.228-245.

50. Vorwaller, Darrel J. "Social Mobility and Membership in Voluntary Association," American Journal of Sociology,

of membership in voluntary organization, political participation, isolation and mental illness. Thus, in the study of social mobility there is a clear trend from descriptive analysis to quantitative measurements through model building. But in most of the studies conducted in Western Societies the major emphasis has been on occupational mobility from unskilled to skilled, and lower white collar to professional. And the rate of social mobility even in cities in such societies has been very slow.[51]

Social mobility has been studied from a different angle also. Merton and Rossi[52], for example, viewed social mobility in the frame of reference group behaviour particularly in the form of anticipatory socialisation and relative deprivation. They found anticipatory socialisation through the reference group individual behaviour functional in an open social system and dysfunctional in a relatively closed one. Thus, they accepted anticipatory socialisation as an antecedent to the acceptance of a person in a "non-membership" (Out) group leading to his social mobility.

Vol.75,No.4, Part II, (Jan.)1970, pp.481-495; Keith Hope, "Models of Status Inconsistency and Social Mobility Effects," American Sociological Review, Vol.40, No.3, (June) 1975, pp.322-343.

51. Lipset, S.M. "Trends in American Sociology", The American Review, Vol.20, Nos.2-3, (Winter-Spring) 1976, pp.3-15.

52. Merton, R.K. and Alice Kitt Rossi "Reference Group Theory and Social Mobility" in Class, Status and Power: Social Stratification in Comparative Perspective - R. Bendix and S.M. Lipset (eds.).New York: The Free Press, 1966, pp.510-515.

Attempts have been made to measure social mobility in Asian countries also. Besides India and the Communist blocks, mobility has been measured in societies like Japan and Australia. Japan Sociological Society[53], for example, conducted a mobility survey through the methods of (i) an objective occupational scale; (ii) subjective evaluation of status in the form of upper, upper-middle, lower-middle, upper-lower and lower-lower of three generations; and (iii) evaluated participation. They noted a tendency of Japanese to remain in the father's occupational prestige class. Rapid industrialisation and urbanisation have considerably influenced the status of even the untouchable invisible races[54] like Burkau in Japan. Similarly, Turner [55] measured sponsored and contest

53. Research Committee, Japanese Sociological Society -
    Social Mobility in Japan; An Interim Report on the 1955
    Survey of Social Stratification and Social Mobility
    in Japan (1957, mimeographed). Referred in Social
    Mobility in Industrial Society - Lipset and Bendix,
    1959, p.18; Professors Himeoka, Ariga and Odaka --
    "A Selected Bibliography on Social Stratification and
    Social Mobility in Japan since 1800, " - Current
    Sociology, Vol. II, No.4, 1953-54, pp. 329-360, may
    also be seen.

54. De Vos, George and Hiroshi Wagatsuma (eds.) Japan's
    Invisible Race: Caste in Culture and Personality.
    Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967.

55. Turner, Ralph H. "The Pattern of Upward Mobility in
    Australia", International Journal of Comparative
    Sociology, Vol. XVI, Nos. 1-2 , (March - June) 1975,
    pp. 81-99.

patterns of social mobility in Australia. He found Australian workers looking toward upward mobility either for themselves or for their children. Turner, further, noted that prestige was generally assigned to higher strata and the positive value was attached to individual upward mobility.

Communist societies in Asia are supposed to be ideologically classless societies, but, on the basis of several studies, it can be safely held that such societies are constituted of a number of classes and sub-classes. Inkeles,[56] for instance, on the basis of occupation, income and the possession of power and authority, observed the following classes in the Soviet Union around 1940. These classes, according to their rank, are: superior intelligentsia, general intelligentsia, working class aristocracy, white collar, well-to-do peasants, average workers, average peasants disadvantaged workers, and forced labour. Thus, during a span of ten years (1926 - 37), Inkeles noted, shifts of various classes in terms of enrolment in educational institutions, occupation, income, prestige and social status. Social mobility of a gentry class was measured in pre-

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56. Inkeles, Alex "Social Stratification and Mobility in the Soviet Union" in Class, Status and Power -- - Bendix and Lipset (eds.), 1966, pp. 516-526.

Communist China also.[57] Because of the foreign exposure of
the Chinese intellectuals it was observed that The mobility
routes were rapidly closed to a considerable portion of the
gentry, as well as to the wealthier peasants." Though the
leaders of both the Soviet and Chinese societies are committed
to establish a classless society, yet we do not have authentic
data for the recent years to examine the amount and directions
of social development in such societies.

At this stage, it is proper to analyse studies of
social mobility in India. The studies of social mobility in
India have to be quite different from mobility studies
conducted in other societies. In India the analysis of social
mobility is related to the analysis of changes occurring in
one's status in the caste-hierarchy, though during the recent
years some emphasis has been given on changes in one's class
status also. However, the beginning of empirical inquiry of
social mobility in India can be traced to the ethnographic
surveys[58] conducted all over the country, during the British

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57. Chow, Yung-Teh Social Mobility in China: Status Careers
    Among the Gentry in a Chinese Community. New York:
    Atherton Press, 1966 (Introduction by W. Lloyd Warner,
    p. IX).

period. These surveys recorded total units, population, and customs and traditions of different tribes and castes. They also included various efforts made by some of these tribes and castes to elevate their status in the local social hierarchies. The introduction of census in India also helped lower castes in claiming and recording of such claims for superior ranks in the caste-hierarchy[59]. Further, a number of studies observed various changes occurred in the life of people in India. A few of them are worth-mentioning here as they include changes taking place even among the lower castes especially among the Scheduled Castes.

Aside the studies concerning social mobility among the Scheduled Castes, almost all the studies on social mobility in India have been conducted within the two specific frameworks of caste and class hierarchies. In the first category, there are studies[60] which prove the occurrence of social mobility even earlier to this century. Such studies observed considerable changes in the caste system right from the very

59. Ahmed, Imtiaz "Caste Mobility Movements in North India , "The Indian Economic and Social History Review, Vol. VIII, 1971, pp. 164-191. A sketchy reference on such issue can be seen in Yogendra Singh's "Caste and Class: Some Aspects of Continuity and Change", Sociological Bulletin, Vol. XVII, No.2, (Sept.) 1968, pp.168-186.

60. Srinivas, M.N., 1966 ; B.N. Sharma, 1966 ; and William L. Rowe. All these references have been mentioned earlier in this chapter.

beginning. Thapar[61] found both horizontal and vertical mobility
in elite groups of Brahman, Kshatriya and Vaishya castes in
urban areas even in ancient India as has been mentioned
earlier. But the pace and rate of such mobility was very
slow. Contrary to this view, there are opinions according
to which social mobility in India is a recent phenomenon
accentuated during the British regime; earlier to this period,
Indian society was very rigid and no change was possible in
the caste-order.

Accepting such controversies regarding occurrence of
social mobility in India, Silverberg[62] edited a volume contain-
ing several papers presented in a symposium on social mobility
in the caste system in India. One of the papers[63] in this
volume viewed social mobility in medieval Hindu India and
found Sudra Varna, the lowest of all the Varnas, availing of
better status in the social and ritual hierarchies.

The second type of studies in this category concentra-
ted on mobility in the caste system. Various efforts have

61. Thapar, Romila, op. cit.

62. Silverberg, James (ed.)   Social Mobility in the Caste
    System in India: An Interdisciplinary Symposium. The
    Hague: Mouton Publishers, 1968.

63. Stein, Burton "Social Mobility and Medieval South Indian
    Sects" in Social Mobility in the Caste System in India,
    pp. 78-94.

been made by different caste groups to claim and acquire the
status of such castes as are higher to them in the caste-
hierarchy. Such claims have been established on the basis of
adaptation of Sanskritic[64] and non-Sanskritic style of life
of the upper castes. Most of the papers[65] included in
Silverberg's volume have recorded successful and unsuccessful
efforts of the lower castes for achieving status of the higher
castes through reference group behaviour. They have analysed
social mobility in the caste system within the framework of
caste ranking in terms of unit and agents, micro and macro
level consensus, correlation between caste rank and intera-
ction, different contexts, and consistency of rank criteria
in historical as well as contemporary, and rural as well as
urban perspectives.

Further, on the basis of a number of empirical
investigations made by several Indian and foreign scholars,
Mandelbaum[66] also has drawn a conclusion that various low

64. Srinivas, M.N. Op. Cit.

65. Barber, Bernard "Social Mobility in Hindu India",
    pp. 18-35; Edward B. Harper - "Social Consequences of
    an 'Unsuccessful' Low Caste Movement", pp. 36-65;
    William Rowe "The New Cauhans : A Caste Mobility
    Movement in North India", pp.66-75; Y.B.Damle "Reference
    Group Theory with regard to Mobility in Caste," pp.95-
    102; and McKim Marriott, "Multiple Reference in Indian
    Caste Systems", pp. 103-114 in Social Mobility in the
    Caste System in India, 1968.

66. Mandelbaum, David G. Society In India, Vol.2, pp.425-520.

castes have achieved their claimed status though such changes have been resisted by the referent castes. He has also recorded cultural adaptations of the lower castes within the frame of four varna categories of Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Shudra, beside the modernization category, as four models for social mobility. Further, he has analysed mobility tactics adopted by the lower castes in terms of overcoming external opposition and internal cohesion.

In the second category, studies of social mobility in India cover three major aspects of transformation of caste-ridden society into a society based on 'class'. This transformation has been interpreted by the three specific schools of thought. The first school analyses social mobility in terms of changes from caste to class. Adherents[67] of this school of thought visualise that caste is growing weak and shifting to social class. They stratify Indian population into upper, middle and lower class, with the linking units of several sub-classes, on the basis of educational, job, income

67. Atal, Yogesh The Changing Frontiers of caste. Delhi: National Publishing House, 1968; Y.P. Chhibber - From Caste to Class: A Study of the Indian Middle Classes. New Delhi: Associated publishing House, 1968; Victor S. D'Souza- "Caste and Class: A Reinterpretation, " Journal of Asian and African Studies, Vol. II, Nos.3-4, referred in Yogesh Atal's Changing Patterns of Caste; Working paper presented to XIth All India Sociological Conference 1972; Yogendra Singh op. cit.; S.S.Anant Changing Concept of Caste. New Delhi: Vikas Publications, 1972.

and power positions. Further, the second school in this category finds evolution of certain social classes within the cemented walls of castes, viz. upper, middle and lower classes existing in a single caste[68]. In the first type of class formation there is a possibility of assimilation of the whole Indian population into the three exclusive classes and upward mobility is completely open though certain reservations, as are in other societies, will still remain. But in the class formation of the second type there are less changes for free-lance movement as caste comes in the way. The only possibility in this mode of transformation is that numerous subcastes of a single caste will be geared into upper, middle and lower classes though these classes have nothing to do with such classes existing in other castes.

The third school of thought based on Marxist ideology on class formation in India divides the whole population into bourgeois and proletarian classes. Several social scientists[69]

68. Beteille, Andre' Caste, Class and Power. Bombay: Oxford University Press, 1966; K.L. Sharma "Patterns of Occupational Mobility: A Study of six villages in Rajasthan", Indian Journal of Social Work, Vol. 30, No.1, (April) 1969, pp. 33-43.

69. Patnaik, Utsa "Development of Capitalism in Agriculture", Social Scientist, Vol. 1, No.2, (Sept.) 1972, pp.15-31; Bipan Chandra's mimeographed paper "Modern India and Imperialism," read at a seminar held in Austria in 1972, and his "The Indian Capitalist Class and Imperialism before 1947", presented at an International Seminar held in 1972. Both the papers have been referred in N.Ram's "Studies in the Development of Indian Capitalism," Social Scientist, Vol. 3, No.11, (June). 1975, pp. 3-20.

and political leaders try to analyse and prove the evolution of such classification in Indian society but one can doubt the validity of such a classification as the sole criteria of division of Indian society have been religion and caste. Such criteria have still a stronger grip over the Indian population and prevent the people of one caste or community to join hands with the people of other castes or communities. In sum, all the three approaches analyse social mobility in horizontal and vertical directions.

Still there is another approach which analyses social mobility in terms of one single criterion of occupation. Many studies[70] have been conducted in this regard. But the major concern of such studies is to examine the extent to which occupational mobility occurs in the caste-system. Caste system was, primarily based on division of labour (division of labourers[71]) in which each caste was assigned some specific occupation(s). In such a condition the examination of

70. Sharma, K.N. "Occupational Mobility of Castes in a North Indian Village", South-Western Journal of Anthropology, Vol. 17, No.2, (Summer) 1961, pp.146-164; Hari P. Sharma "Caste and Occupational Mobility in a Delhi village", The Eastern Anthropologist, Vol. XXIV, No.2, (May-Aug.) 1971, pp.159-180; B.B. Mandal "Occupational Mobility in Rural Bihar", Journal of Social and Economic Studies, Vol. III, No.1, (March) 1975, pp. 37-44.

71. Ambedkar, B.R. The Untouchables. Delhi: Amrit Book Company, 1948.

occupational mobility of different castes is significant as occupational mobility leads in some degree to social mobility in the caste system as a whole. Besides, occupational mobility, leading to social mobility, has been measured in intra and inter-generations also[72]. Finally, efforts have been made to examine patterns, in terms of traditional and modern occupational structure leading to multiple status system[73], units[74] and trends[75] of social mobility through a span of time in different regions of India. Thus, several studies have proved the occurrence of social mobility in Indian society, but, by and large, they fail to produce a precise amount and directions of such mobility.

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72. Rao, K. Ranga "Inter-Generation Social and Occupational Mobility", Indian Journal of social Research, Vol. VII, No.1, (April) 1966, pp. 41-44; G.N. Ramu & Paul D. Wiebe "Occupational and Educational Mobility in Relation to Caste in Urban India", Sociology and Social Research, Vol. 58, (Oct.) 1973, pp.84-94.

73. Chandrashekharaiyah, K. "Mobility Patterns within the Caste", Sociological Bulletin - Decennial Celebrations Symposium, Oct., 1961, Vol. XI, Nos. 1 & 2, (March - Sept.) 1962, pp. 62-67.

74. Marnane, Patrick J.H. "Individual Social Mobility in India", Sociological Bulletin, Vol. XVI, No.2, (Sept.) 1967, pp. 60-66; K.L. Sharma "Levels of Mobility in Caste Structure: A Hypothetical Refinement", Indian Journal of Social Work, Vol. 32, No.4, (Jan.) 1972, pp.412-422.

75. Chekki, Dan A. "Social Stratification and Trends of Social Mobility in Modern India", Indian Journal of Social Work, Vol. 31, No.4, (Jan.) 1971, pp. 367-380; K.L. Sharma "Downward Social Mobility: Some Observations", Sociological Bulletin, Vol. 22, No.1, 1974, pp.59-77.

Further, a fundamental question has been raised regarding the possibility of complete social mobility in India. Ahmed and Ahmed[76], for example, have posed a question of avoidability of social stratification based on caste in India. Opening a methodological issue for the study of social mobility they have concluded that the measurement of mobility even through various dimensions is incomplete. Therefore, in their view, complete social mobility is possible only through a vigorous political action evolving "a civic value-oriented social system instead of a family, caste, religion, region and language oriented one". The Government of India, though in principle, is committed to bring about such a mobility, but, in practice, it is far from the goal. The prime factors, like people's inaccessibility to education, country's poverty, agricultural occupation of a majority, underage responsibilities and people's attitudes come in the way of evolution of a social system, which may guarantee unhindered opportunities for social mobility.

Social scientists from both India and abroad started taking interest in the problems of and changes among the Scheduled Castes, by and large, in middle of the 1950 s. Since

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76. Ahmed, Latheef N. & Hajira Ahmed "The Politics of Social
     Mobility in India: A Hypothesis," Indian Journal of
     Social Research, No.3, (Dec.) 1964, pp. 236-244.

then, a number of studies have been conducted on one issue
or the other. Such studies broadly cover three major areas
of the problems. There are a number of studies[77] which focus
attention on social disabilities of the lower castes,
particularly the Scheduled Castes. The purpose of such studies
was to expose living conditions and social disabilities of
the Scheduled Castes and invite attention of the Government
as well as non-Government agencies to deal with the problem.
In the second category, several studies[78] tried to record the
impacts of various legislations on social change among the

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77. Singh, Mohinder The Depressed Classes. Bombay: Hind
    Kitabs Ltd., 1947; A.B. Bose - Economic and Living
    Conditions of Harijans in Uttar Pradesh, J.K. Institute
    Monograph No.5. Lucknow: J.K. Institute of Sociology
    and Social Research, Lucknow University, 1957; G.S.
    Ghurye, Op. Cit.; Marc Galanter "The Abolition of
    Disabilities: Untouchability and the Law" in The
    Untouchables in Contemporary India - J.M. Mahar (ed.),
    1972, pp. 187-201.

78. Cohn, Bernard S. "Some Notes on Law and Change in
    North India", Economic Development and Cultural Change,
    Vol. VIII, No.1, 1959, pp. 79-93; Lelah Dushkin "The
    Backward Classes: Special Treatment Policy", Economic
    and Political Weekly, Vol. 13, 1961, pp. 1665-68,
    1695-1705, 1729-38; her "Scheduled Caste Politics",
    in The Untouchables in Contemporary India pp.165-226;
    B.B. Chatterjee Impact of Social Legislation on
    Social Change (Unpublished Manuscript). Varanasi:
    Gandhian Institute of Studies, 1968; Marc Galanter
    "Untouchability and Law", Economic and Political
    Weekly, Vol. IV, Nos. 1 & 2 (Annual Number), Jan.
    1969.

lower castes. Efforts[79] were made to observe changes in attitudes of the Scheduled and non-scheduled castes towards each other. Such studies noted limited impact of legislation on the condition of the Scheduled Castes in general. And, in the last category, a number of studies[80] were conducted in various periods which measured changes, particularly mobility, among the Scheduled Castes. Studies in this category, broadly, cover the aspects of religious, educational, economic and political changes among the Scheduled Castes. All such studies treat these aspects of changes as channels for raising the status of the Scheduled Castes in the caste-hierarchy.

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79. Desai, I.P. and K.M. Kapadia "A Note on the Change in Caste" in Professor Ghurye's Felicitation Volume - K.M. Kapadia (ed.), 1954, pp. 266-76; S.S. Anant, Op. Cit.

80. Mahar, Pauline M. "Changing Religious Practices of an Untouchable Caste", Economic Development and Cultural Change, Vol. VIII, No.3, 1960, pp. 279-87; S. Patwardhan "Social Mobility and Conversion of Mahars", Sociological Bulletin, Vol. XIII, No.2, (Sept.) 1968, pp. 187-201; K.C. Alexander "The New Christians of Kerala" in The Untouchables in Contemporary India, 1972, pp. 152-168; S.Saberwal "Receding Pollution: Intercaste Relations in Urban Punjab," Sociological Bulletin, Vol.22, No.2, (Sept.), 1973, pp. 234-59; F.G.Bailey Caste and Economic Frontier. London: Oxford University Press, 1953; Lloyd I. Rudolph & Susanne H. Rudolph The Modernity of Tradition: Political Development in India. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1967; Owen M.Lynch The Politics of Untouchability: Social Mobility and Social Change in a City of India. New York: Columbia University Press, 1969; Lawrence A. Babb "The Satnamis: Political Involvement of a Religious Movement" in The Untouchables in Contemporary India, pp. 143-152.

Further, several studies[81] have been conducted which measure various aspects of social mobility among the Scheduled Castes. Recording upward mobility among such castes in a Punjabi industrial town Saberwal[82] guessed no Harijan problem in coming two more generations in urban Punjab. "To be sure there will be poor Harijans but they will merge into the poor of all castes." This is an over-estimation of mobility among the Scheduled Castes because such mobility generates two sorts of problems among them. On the one hand, upwardly mobile

81. Isaacs, Harold R. Op. Cit.; K.C. Alexander Op.Cit.; Edward B. Harper Op. Cit.; Imtiaz Ahmed Op. Cit.; B.K.Roy Burman (ed.) Social Mobility Movements among Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in India. New Delhi: Office of the Registrar General, India, Ministry of Home Affairs, 1970; K.L. Sharma "Modernization and Rural Stratification: An Application at the Micro level, "Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. V.,No.37, 1970, pp.1537-43, and his "Downward Social Mobility: Some Observations", Sociological Bulletin, Vol. 22, No.1, 1974, pp.59-77; Anil Bhatt "Politics and Social Mobility in India", Contributions to Indian Sociology (N.S.), No.V, (Dec.)1971, pp.99-115; S.Saberwal, "Status, Mobility and Networks in a Punjabi Industrial Town" in his Beyond the Village: Sociological Explorations (ed.) Simla: Indian Institute of Advanced Study, 1972, pp. 113-184; C.Parvathamma "Ambedkar and After: Position and Future of Indian Scheduled Caste masses and Classes", The Eastern Anthropologist, Vol.26, No.3, 1973 pp.221-34; S.Patwardhan op.cit.; G.S. Bhatt "Trends and Measures of Status Mobility among the Chamars of Dehradun" in Tribe, Caste and Peasantry - K.S. Mathur and B.C. Agrawal (eds.). Lucknow: Ethnographic and Folk Culture Society, U.P., 1974, pp.174-186.

82. Saberwal, S. "Blacks, Harijans, and Muslims" (Review of Caste, Race and Politics - Sidney Verba, B. Ahmed and Anil Bhatt) - Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. VIII, No.41, (Oct.13) 1973, pp.1851-54.

Scheduled Caste persons find it very difficult to assimilate themselves completely in the subsequently higher castes, and on the other, they are, to some extent, socially cut-off from masses of the Scheduled Castes. Hence, social mobility, a universal process of the present day, has been opposed by a section of the Scheduled Castes also[83] as they do not want the existence of caste system which cannot sanction them a social status equal to that of other castes through social mobility.

Thus, it is clear from the above survey of literature that all the referred studies of social mobility provide two major frameworks of analysis. First, the studies of social mobility conducted in societies which are based on classes present certain theoretical models and methodological sophistications. But such models and methods are not directly relevant for the study of social mobility in the caste system in India because caste system has certain characteristics which are totally different from the characteristics of class system. Secondly, all the studies of social mobility conducted in India, broadly, cover two major areas of inquiry. These are: one, most of the studies have measured occupational mobility

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83. Patwardhan, S. 1968, op.cit.; Michael Moffott "Untouchables and the Castes System: A Tamil Case Study", Contributions to Indian Sociology, Vol. 9, No.1, (Jan.-June) 1975, pp. 111-122.

only, and two, the studies which cover mobility in the caste system concentrate on the inquiry of changes in socio-economic status of persons of one caste or the other. But the status of a person in the caste system is determined by two ways: by his birth in a particular caste, on one hand, and by his socio-economic achievement, and his interaction with members of other castes on the other. The status of a caste in the hierarchy is ranked according to the structure of interaction. But interactions determining the ranked status of a caste emphasise the inter-caste relations. Marriott[84] analyses interaction in terms of ritualised giving and receiving of food and giving and receiving of ritual services. That is, the status of a caste is ranked low if people of other castes do not accept food, water or share smoking pipe. Similar is the case with the acceptance of ritual services also. In other words, if the interaction of a caste is not free and equalitarian with the other castes either in terms of ritual or secular aspects, the status of that caste is ranked low in the caste-hierarchy. But in the view of Dumont[85]

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84. Marriott, McKim. "Interactional and Attributional Theories of Caste Ranking", Man in India, Vol. 39, No.2, 1959, pp.92-107.

85. Dumont, Louis Homo- Hierarchicus : The Caste System and its Implications. London: Granada Publishing Limited - Paladin, 1972, p.132.

elsewhere, irrespective of caste considerations.

There are men in the lower castes who "have either been upwardly mobile earlier, or are upwardly mobile now, or getting equipped for upward mobility in the foreseeable future".[86] Prasad[87] has used the concept of 'psychic mobility' for the mobility among the people of the third type. In case of the Scheduled Castes, such people avail maximum facilities meant for the whole community, and are, according to some sociologists[88], forming a "new middle-class". They are undoubtedly mobile but the amounts, and directions of their mobility are not very clear. It is, therefore, necessary to enquire into the amounts and directions of social mobility taking place among them.

Further, it is our impression that as certain amount

86.   Saberwal, S. "Status, Mobility and Networks in a
       Punjabi Industrial Town" in his Beyond the Village:
       Sociological Explorations (ed.). Simla: Indian
       Institute of Advanced Study, 1972, p. 114.

87.   Prasad, S. Changes in Jajmani Relations: A Sociological
       Study of an Indian Village - Unpublished M.A. disserta-
       tion submitted to B.H.U. in 1974, pp. 55-56.

88.   Roy Burman, B.K. Panel Discussion on Land Reforms:
       Sociological Perspective (Unpublished). New Delhi:
       Council for Cultural Studies India International Centre,
       1972; E. Franklin Frazier Black Bourgeoisie: The Rise
       of a New Middle- Class. New York: The Free Press, 1966;
       Frazier has called the American Negroes of the similar
       background as new middle-class; C. Parvathamma in her
       "Ambedkar and After - The Position and future of Indian
       Scheduled Caste masses and Classes", op. cit., calls
       such group as "New-Brahmin."

of changes occure in the socio-economic conditions of the well-to-do persons of the Scheduled Castes, they are developing a new interaction pattern with the other Scheduled and non-scheduled castes people of similar position. There might have been changes in their interaction with their reference groups and reference individuals, and also with their own caste fellows of the relatively lower socio-economic stratum. At the same time, they may also perceive changes in the behaviour of individuals other than the Scheduled Castes towards them. Therefore, at the level of consequences of social mobility (change in socio-economic status) we are interested in finding out the influences of social mobility on the patterns of social interactions and social relations of members of the "new section" of the Scheduled Castes with their non-scheduled caste acquaintances. We intend to know their interactions and relations with the people of their caste also who have not been able to avail of the facilities for social mobility provided by the Government. We, further, want to note the Scheduled Castes' perception of changes in the behaviour of non-scheduled castes towards them, and changes in their own behaviours with their own caste fellows.

There is another problem also. It is connected with social mobility of the Scheduled Castes. The constitutional measures help them achieve higher status in the class structure,

but they do not guarantee any improvement in their caste
status as stated earlier. The members of the "new-middle
class" might have achieved certain social status in the
class-structure due to changes in their social, economic,
occupational, and interaction positions. It is, however,
still unclear whether it affects their status in the caste
hierarchy. It is, thus, important to examine the changes
in their social status, determining factors and indicators
of such changes, and congruity of their achieved and ascribed
statuses.

Further, it is assumed that being encouraged by the
constitutional safeguards the well-off persons among the
Scheduled Castes follow the behaviours of either certain
individuals or groups and categories[89] as their reference
for mobility and identification. They try to associate with
them also. At the same time they do not want to assimilate
their identity with the identity of those whose styles of
life they emulate. Therefore, it is important to investigate
their positive and negative orientations to and acceptance
of reference individuals and groups for their social mobility
and status identification. It is also necessary to find out

89. Mandelbaum, David G. Society in India: Change and
     Continuity - Vol. II. California: University of
     California Press, 1970, pp. 448-67.

the determinants of selection of reference individuals and groups of the "new-middle class" among the Scheduled Castes.

Lastly, there may be another problems also related to the identification of people of the new section among the Scheduled Castes. Benefits of the "protective discriminations" bring them to a position where they are probably not able to get a socially accepted new place in the hierarchy of caste system. Yet, there may be three possible levels of their status-identification: i) they would identify themselves at the class level without caring about their caste-status; ii) they would claim a status of superior caste by improving their class position; and iii) they may identify themselves either in terms of "ethnocentrism"[90] in which they may claim the superior position of their own caste and identify themselves with their own caste fellows, or in terms of "contra-identification" where they may prove their identity contrary to ethnocentric identification. Again, at the contra-identification level they may identify either with members of other caste or class or outside both the folds. Therefore, we shall be interested in explicating the nature and levels of their status-identification.

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90. Paranjpe, A.C. Caste, Prejudice and the Individual. New Delhi: Lalwani Publishing House, 1970, pp.106-114.

In short, following are the main objectives of this study:

(i)   to identify the amount and directions of social mobility among the members of the 'new-middle class' belonging to the Scheduled Castes,

(ii)   to find out changes in social status of members of the new middle class, determining factors and indicators of such changes, and measurement of achieved and ascribed statuses, and their congruity,

(iii)   to explicate their positive and negative orientations to and acceptance of reference groups and/or individuals; determinants of selection of such references; and structural contexts of reference group/individual behaviour in which such people try to adjust themselves.

(iv)   to investigate patterns of social interaction and social relation of members of the new middle class of the Scheduled Castes with their reference group/individual and their parental stratum; their perception of changes in the behaviour of non-scheduled castes towards them, and their own behaviour towards the Scheduled and non-scheduled castes; and lessening of ritual and social distance; and

(v)   in the light of the (iii) and (iv) objectives, to
        determine the nature and levels of their status-
        identification.

Relevance of the Study:

        The proposed study is relevant from both the theore-
tical as well as applied points of view. At the theoretical
level, empirical studies on social mobility and status-
identification cover relatively more open societies where
mobility in one aspect is directly related to mobility in the
others. But this is not the case with societies where
stratification has been so rigid that mobility in one aspect
hardly affects mobility in the others. A survey of literature
on social mobility and status-identification indicates that
these phenomena may be explicated by an interplay of dimens-
ions like education, occupation, income, expenditure, patterns,
and social power acquired by an individual through his posi-
tion in formal organizations. Therefore, an explanation and
examination of independent and dependent variables is likely
to provide an analytical insight into the dynamics of social
mobility and status-identification which, in turn, may provide
empirical and theoretical leads to an understanding of social
mobility in general in a comparatively rigid social system.

        Further, at the applied level, this study shall
identify expectations of the 'new-middle class' : whether

they want an elevation of their status in the caste or class or both the hierarchies. It may help recognise the built-in constraints in the constitutional and legal measures and limitations of administrative actions, if any, in fulfilling the expectations of the Scheduled Castes. If we find that the Scheduled Castes are primarily expecting a rise in their caste status, and that the constitutional or legal measures cannot help them in this endeavour, the study may help the Scheduled Castes limit their expectations in accordance with the reality of the situation, or the society may adopt non-legal measures to help them realise their expectations. More than that, this study may pinpoint the unwanted widening gap between those Scheduled Caste people who are taking frequent benefits of the privileges and facilities and those who are lagging behind in this regard.

STUDY-DESIGN: THEORETIC FRAMEWORK AND THE RESEARCH TECHNIQUE

Theoretical Framework:

The framework of the present study has been derived from two sets of four inter-related theories. These theories are: the theory of social mobility, propounded by Lipset and Zetterberg[1] ; the theory of status-congruence, formulated by Homans[2]; Merton's[3] theory of Reference Group Behaviour; and the theory of Ethnocentric and Contra-identification, advanced by Paranjpe[4]. We have tried to analyse social mobility among the Scheduled Castes within the frameworks of the first two theories. More specifically, social mobility has been measured through a multiple approach based on certain dimensions (with necessary modifications) suggested in the theory of Lipset and Zetterberg. We have partly adopted this framework because

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1. Lipset, S.M. and Hans L. Zetterberg   "A Theory of Social Mobility" in Transactions of The Third World Congress of Sociology, Vol. III. London: International Sociological Association, 1956, pp.155-177.

2. Homans, G.C. Sentiments and Activities: Essays in Social Science. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1962, pp.91-102.

3. Merton, R.K. Social Theory and Social Structure. New Delhi: Amerind Publishing Company, 1968, pp. 279-440.

4. Paranjpe, A.C.   Caste, Prejudice and the Individual. New Delhi: Lalvani Publishing House, 1970.

a comprehensive study of social mobility is possible only through a multiple approach and not through a single approach of occupation only. In the words of Heek[5], "'The multiple approach ... wants as fully as possible, to take the fact into account that society is characterised by multiple over lapping and even contradictory criteria of status.'"

Actually, the theoretical framework of Lipset and Zetterberg is based on certain assumptions which are directly related to the study of social mobility in a class system. But a study of social mobility in the caste system in India, particularly in case of the Scheduled Castes, in real sense, has to examine the mobility of status in the caste system. Therefore, in the present investigation we have tried to measure a correlation of mobility in the class (socio-economic status) and caste statuses, and we have called the extent of such a correlation as a 'complete social mobility'. Further, a person might have achieved a high status in the class hierarchy but his status may be low in the caste-hierarchy. So, at the consequence level, such a discrepancy of statuses may create status-anxiety. We have analysed status discrepancy and status-anxiety in Homans' theoretical framework of

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5.   Heek, F. van   "Some Introductory Remarks on Social Mobility and Class Structure" in Transactions of the Third World Congress of Sociology, Vol. III. London: International Sociological Association, 1956, p. 132.

status - congruity and status-anxiety. Though his model also is applicable in the class society, yet we have adopted this model, with certain necessary modifications, in the Indian situation.

The status of a person is very much related to his self-image which he projects to others. But such a self-image he, generally, derives from others. In other words, a person internalises style of life and behaviour patterns of certain groups and/or individuals and projects them to others. Merton calls such internalisation as reference group/individual behaviour. Such a state of affairs is equally applicable with people of the Scheduled Castes. Therefore, derivation of the self-image of the Scheduled Castes, in our study, has been analysed in Merton's frame of reference group/individual behaviour.

Lastly, at the identification level, a person may identify himself in three ways: whether he can identify at the caste or class level or beyond the caste and class levels. If he identifies himself at the level of his own caste, he is proud of his caste background. Such an identification is similar to ethnocentric identification. Or, if he is shy of his caste, he will try to 'pass' his caste background and identify at the other caste or class or other levels which is obviously contrary to ethnocentric identification. Therefore, the level of identification, in the present study, has been

measured in terms of ethnocentric and contra-identification.

At this stage, we can briefly discuss some of the main properties of the aforesaid theories. Lipset and Zetterberg have underlined the dimensions of social mobility like occupational and consumption rankings, social class, and power rankings in addition to a methodological note. Then they have pointed out causes and consequences of social mobility. According to them, social mobility of a group or individual is determined by the shift and ranking of occupations, income, consumptions, and social power alongwith the social class "composed of individuals who accept each other as equals and qualified for intimate associations"[6].

Accepting occupation as the most common indicator of stratification Lipset and Zetterberg view that "--- occupational class is one of the major factors which differentiate people's beliefs, values, norms, customs and occasionally some of their emotional expressions".[7] In their opinion the recording of one's occupational class also needs the recording of occupational setting, i.e., the kind of social system in which the occupation under study is found. Further, it is not necessary that if the occupational and/or income positions of an

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6. Lipset, S.M. & Hans L. Zetterberg, op.cit., p.159.

7. Ibid, pp. 155-56.

individual are high, his consumption position is also high.
"At the same income level, men will vary in the extent to
which they are oriented toward acting out the behaviour
pattern common to different social classes". They are of the
view that one may change one's occupational class by changing
one's job, but the real improvement in one's social class
position is possible only if one is admitted to intimate
relationships with those who already possess the criteria for
higher rank. Similarly, taking one's role relationship in
terms of imposition of one's authority (not the political
authority) over the social system, the authors view it as
one's social power and treat it as a separate dimension of
social mobility.

Lipset and Zetterberg accept that in a society there
is a possibility of having higher rate (and amount also) of
mobility in one dimension and lower in others. Therefore, the
more qualified and accurate conclusions about comparative
mobility and stratification systems are possible only through
a multi-dimensional approach in which one has to take all the
possible dimensions together.

There are two sets of methodological approaches
suggested by Lipset and Zetterberg to the study of social
mobility. In the first set, there are comparisons of (i)
present with the past; (ii) one area or country with others,

and (iii) comparison with a model expressing equal opportunity. In the second set, there is the conventional operational method of ascertaining mobility by comparing father's and son's positions. In this method Lipset and Zetterberg have suggested to make an inquiry into father's earlier occupation alongwith his last (and present if father is still employed) one and son's present as well as earlier occupations. Further, the theory of social mobility, offered by Lipset and Zetterberg examines some causes of social mobility. These causes are (i) the supply of vacant statuses, and (ii) interchangeability of ranks. It binds up with political consequences.

In the present study we have followed only the multi-dimensional approach and the second set (i.e. inquiry of father's and son's earlier and present occupations) of methodological portion of this theory. We have excluded "Social Class" dimension because an enquiry into the willingness of the people of one social class to accept others as its members was beyond the perview of the study. In case of causes of mobility among the Scheduled Castes the supply of vacant statuses and interchangeability of ranks are facilitated by the policy of preferential treatment to these castes. Since the data are obtained from the Scheduled Caste employees in Government services, and a government employee is not supposed to participate in political activity, we have excluded the

"political consequences" portion from the theoretical adapt-
ation.

In the multi-dimensional approach we have included
two more dimensions of education and income. In a society
like ours, particularly in case of the Scheduled Castes,
education plays an important role in social mobility. The
inclusion of education as a dimension of social mobility of
the Scheduled Castes is also significant because their social
mobility is a planned one as the Government itself has been
trying to provide them with various facilities in the form of
reservation in educational institutions and jobs.

Lipset and Zetterberg have stated that "a large number
of families headed by men in low prestige occupations receive
higher incomes than many middle class families in which the
wife does not work, and the children receive a prolonged
education"[8]. And also the lower prestige occupations, now
often having incomes at par with the incomes of white collar
occupations, affect one's style of life. But they have not
considered income as a separate dimension of social mobility
and have treated it with the dimensions of occupation and
consumption rankings. For our purposes we have treated both
income and occupation as separate dimensions because there is

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8. Ibid, p.158.

every possibility that one may be high in income rank but low in the occupational prestige and vice-versa.

Again, at the achievement level, we have tried to analyse our data within the frame of the theory of status-congruence propounded by Homans[9]. According to this theory, if there are persons who have their status factors (variety of works, office responsibility, pay, seniority, and work auto-nomy), in an organization "in-line", they claim their status-congruity, and those whose status-factors are "out of line", they do not. Thus, the latter face a problem of 'status-anxiety'. In Homans' terminology, the 'in-lineness' may be a condition of relative and distributive justice for such individuals. Homans' theorisation is based on data from the employees, engaged in some formal organizations, whose status was congruent in one aspect but incongruent in others.We have adopted this theoretic framework, in the present study, with due apology to Homans, in terms of the congruence of achieved and ascribed statuses of our respondents who may be in-line in their achieved status but out of line in the ascribed one. Therefore, they might face a problem of status-anxiety.

In the theory of reference group behaviour (and attitudes[10] also) and theory of relative deprivation, Merton

9. Homans, G.C. op. cit.
10. Nelson, H.A. "A Tentative Foundation for Reference Group Theory", Journal of Sociology and Social Research, Vol.45, No.3, 1961, pp. 274-280.

and his followers[11] suggest that certain individuals or groups tend to observe the behaviours (and attitudes also) of the . . . other groups or individuals in order to achieve a similar social position. But if they fail in their achievement, they suffer from relative deprivation because they find others belonging to their group achieving success in similar situations. Further, in the due course of adoption of reference group/ individual behaviour one identifies oneself with the reference group and/or reference individual. Therefore, in the present study the data have been processed in the said theoretic framework and an effort has been made to inquire into the types of the reference groups/individuals which the respondents follow to achieve their respective social positions.

Finally, the theory of Ethnocentrism was initially propounded by Sumner[12] and later developed by Adorno et al[13] and Allport[14], and Levine and Campbell[15]. According to this

11. Merton, R.K. and Alice S. Rossi "Contributions to the Theory of Reference Group Behaviour" in Social Theory and Social Structure - R.K. Merton, 1968, pp. 279-334.

12. Sumner, W.G. Folkways. New York: Blaisdell Publishing Company, 1965, pp.13-15 (first published in 1906).

13. Adorno, T.W. et. al. The Authoritarian Personality. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950, pp.31-45.

14. Allport, G.W. The Nature of Prejudice. Cambridge: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company Inc., 1955, pp.289-91.

15. Levine, Robert A. & Donald T. Campbell Ethnocentrism: Theories of Conflict, Ethnic Attitudes and Group Behaviour. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc. 1971.

theory, an individual or a group of individuals identifies at the level of ethnic affiliation. One claims one's ethnic superiority in comparison to other ethnic groups and, in some cases, one hates and takes revenge on them. If in certain cases an individual or a group does not identify at the ethnocentric level, then the individual or group of individuals may identify at a level other than ethnocentrism. This may be true in case of the Scheduled Castes also. Adopting the theory of ethnocentrism in Indian situation, in the term of caste, Paranjpe[16] states that individuals may identify either with their ethnic (caste) affiliation or contrary to that, i.e. at the other caste or class level. Thus, he has given a theoretic framework of ethnocentric and contra-identification. In the present study we have viewed our data within the frame of ethnocentric and contra-identification.

Integration of Theories:

The above mentioned theories have been linked up with one another. In the first set of the theoretic framework a complete social mobility* occurs only when there are changes in one's social status in the caste system besides changes in one's educational, economic and occupational conditions

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16. Paranjpe, A.C. op. cit.

* The concept of "complete social mobility" has been discussed in detail in chapter 4.

(status in class system). Therefore, if there is no structural
change, i.e. change in status in the caste system besides the
changes in one's educational, economic and occupational
conditions, one's status will be incongruent and mobility
incomplete. In such a situation one may have status incongru-
ence and status-anxiety (Homans). Thus, the theory of social
mobility, propounded by Lipset and Zetterberg, has sufficient
ground to be linked up with Homans' theory of status-congrue-
nce. Similarly, this theory can be related to the theories of
status-identification also because it is hoped that the persons
who are more mobile can identify themselves in a better way
than those who are not.

In the second set of the theoretic framework, there
are two possibilities in Homans' theory of status-congruence.
If an individual finds his status incongruent, he will either
develop status-anxiety, or he will pay the cost of accepting
his status inferiority to his superiors with congruent status
for acquiring a status similar to them. Through an exchange of
social behaviour and face-to-face contact he will learn the
skills for achieving his status-congruence. In this sense,
his superiors become his reference groups and/or individuals.
Thus, the second possibility of status-congruence is related
to the theory of reference group behaviour. Similarly, the
theory of status-congruence can be related to the theory of

status-identification also because those who have congruent status can identify themselves in a better way than those whose status is incongruent.

Hypotheses:

In the light of the above theoretic framework we propose to examine the following hypotheses:

1.   The higher the education received by an individual irrespective of his caste affiliation in the Scheduled Castes, the greater are the chances of his securing higher occupation.

2.   The higher the job-cadre in which a person is employed, the higher is the amount of social mobility in the class system.

3.   The higher the rank of a caste to which a person belongs, the higher is the amount of his social mobility.

4.   The higher the socio-economic status of the family of a person, the higher is the amount of his social mobility.

5.   The more the behaviour of a reference group/individual is emulated by a person, the more is the rise in his social status in the caste-system.

6.   The higher the status achieved through social mobility in the class system, the greater are the chances of lessening of social and ritual distances in the caste system.

7.   The more the change in achieved status and no change in the ascribed one, the more is the chance for status-anxiety.

8.   The higher the job-cadre in which a person is employed, the less are the chances of ethnocentric identification.

9.   The lower the social status in the caste hierarchy, the wider the ingroup with which a person identifies[17].

10.   The higher the rank of a caste in the Scheduled Caste hierarchy, the more are the chances for contra-identification.

11.   The higher the status achieved through social mobility in the class system, the greater are the chances for contra-identification.

        Besides, the following hypotheses were also taken into account in the analysis of data:

1.   The higher the rank of a caste in the Scheduled Caste hierarchy, the higher is the socio-economic status that caste possesses.

2.   The more the age of a person , the lower is the level of his educational qualification.

3.   The higher the age of a person, the higher is the amount of social mobility which he secures in the class system.

4.   The more an employee is senior in his job, the higher is the amount of his social mobility, and

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17.   Paranjpe, A.C. Op. cit., pp. 71-74.

5.   The amount of social mobility in villages is less in
comparison to that in cities.

Key Concepts - Definitions and Explanations:
The Scheduled Castes

Several terms have been used for a section of people,
who are known today as the Scheduled Castes, to distinguish
them from the rest of the people living in India. The
Scheduled Castes have their rich geneological nomenclature.
From Vedic period to the period of the Gupta Empire (around
400 A.D.) several identical names such as Chandala, Swapach,
Paukkas, Nishad, Sudra, Untouchable, Unapproachable, and
Unseeable were given to them[18]. During the nineteenth and
late twenties of the present centuries they were known as
Depressed Classes. In the early nineteen thirties simultane-
usly two terms were given to the people of these castes to
bring them in one unit at the national level. These terms were
the Scheduled Castes and Harijans the latter an euphemism
coined by Mahatma Gandhi. Since then social scientists have
been using one term or the other in their studies of the
people of these castes.

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18.   Ghurye, G.S.   Caste and Race in India. Bombay: Popular
       Prakashan, (Fifth Edition), 1969, pp. 305-316. The
       book was previously published under the title Caste,
       Class and Occupation (1961).

According to Isaacs[19], "The term "untouchable" had disappeared from ordinary parlance; it was not only impolite to use it but illegal. The new Indian Constitution of 1949 legally abolished Untouchability. There is no such thing legally as an 'Untouchable' in India". Beside the constitutional term Scheduled Castes given to these castes, Isaacs has used the term "ex-untouchables". He found it the most precisely descriptive term to be used for the people "whose past names are no longer usable or acceptable and who hope in the future to need no special name for themselves at all".

Several social scientists have used the term Harijan to differentiate the untouchables from the rest of the Indian population. Adopting the term Harijan which has been the most frequently used term in the regions where he studied his problem Anant[20] does not give any justification for the use of this term. On the other hand, Patwardhan[21] in her study of the Scheduled Castes and Neo-Buddhists of Maharastra defended the use of the term Harijan, and said, "I have preferred to use the word "Harijan" instead of 'Untouchable' though the latter

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19. Isaacs, Harold R. India's Ex-Untouchables. Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1965, pp. 34-35.

20. Anant, S.S. Changing Concept of Caste. New Delhi: Vikas Publications, 1972.

21. Patwardhan, S. Change among India's Harijans: Maharastra-A Case Study. New Delhi: Orient Longman, 1973, Preface, p. X.

is much in use, ---- I was aware of a feeling of antipathy to the appellation 'Harijan' on the part of the polluting castes, particularly among the Mahars. However, I decided not to use the word 'Untouchable'--- as I felt that the very word has a certain desirable semantic significance which would rather be erased from general use and hope this sentiment will be appreciated".

The term "Scheduled Castes" for the first time, was coined by the Simon Commission in 1930. Later it was adopted by the Government of India Act, 1935 under the British Raj in India and by Indian Republic in 1950 as a legal and administrative term for those castes throughout the country "whose low ritual status, poverty, and lack of opportunities invested them with social and civil disabilities --- and which were put in the category of untouchable"[22]. All the untouchable castes having their separate caste-identity and traditions are listed in a Schedule of the Indian Constitution for purposes of statutory safeguards and other benefits, and this is the basis of the term 'Scheduled Caste'.

We have adopted the term "Scheduled Castes" in this study, for two specific reasons: first, that all the untouchable castes have been given a common nomenclature of 'Scheduled

22. Rudolph, L.I. and S.H. Rudolph The Modernity of Tradition: Political Development in India. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1969, pp. 133-34.

Castes' for legal, administrative and other beneficial
purposes. Since our implicit concern here is to examine the
impact of constitutional provisions on the conditions of
untouchable castes, it is better to adopt the term 'Scheduled
Castes' for a common identification. Second, it is difficult
to locate the actual number of employees belonging to the
different untouchable castes in Government offices because
all the official records relating to these people are
maintained under the category of the Scheduled Castes. There-
fore, it is more reasonable to follow the term "Scheduled
Castes" in a study of this nature.

Protective Discrimination:

The term protective discrimination system or system
of official discrimination has been used for the legal and
socio-political facilities given by the Government to the
Scheduled Castes. Though the phrase is not used by the
Government itself, it has been coined by scholars like Lelah
Dushkin[23]. Dushkin analyses provisions and facilities given
to the Scheduled Castes in three ways: first constitutional

23. Dushkin, Lelah "Scheduled Caste Politics" in The
    Untouchables in Contemporary India - J.M. Mahar (ed.).
    Arizona: The University of Arizona Press, 1972, pp. 168-
    176; Marc Gallanter "Protective Discrimination for
    Backward Classes in India", Journal of the Indian Law
    Institute, Vol. 3, No.3, 1961, pp. 39-69.

and legal provisions which remove traditional discrimination practised against the Scheduled Castes and grant them rights equal to other citizens. Second, general development and welfare programme which provide them with social and economic betterment. And third, the criterion of the membership of castes listed in the Schedule which provides them with the right of sharing of power and opportunities available at present. We have used the term "protective discrimination" for constitutional and legal rights and welfare programmes for the Scheduled Castes because the third criterion of the caste membership is not exclusive in the total system, as the first two, above mentioned, criteria are dependent on it.

The New Middle-Class:

Middle class is a comparatively older phenomenon having well-set standardized living culture. But during the last few years there has been a qualitative change in the composition of the middle class[24]. Under the special programme, the welfare measures and the reservation in education, legisl-atures and government services have created a new situation in which "substantial number of persons from Scheduled Castes (and Scheduled Tribes) have now moved to urban areas, taken

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24.   Frazier, E. Franklin Black Bourgeoisie: The Rise of
      a New Middle-Class. New York: The Free Press, 1966.

to Governmental services and professions, and have joined the category of the middle class. But here is a middle class (among the Scheduled Castes) with a different background, who have emerged straight from the homes of the rural poor either with marginal land or without any land and working as agricultural labourer ---. The attitude, world view and natural alliance of new middle class would obviously be different from those of the old middle class--- :[25]. This new middle class includes the Scheduled Caste politicians, professionals, and employees of various public and private departments. In the present study we have concentrated only on one section - Scheduled Caste Government employees.

Congruence of Statuses:

Homans[26] used the term status-congruence to point out the relationship among different status factors (sets of status) of an individual. In 1950 he made an investigation of behaviour of 60 workers through observation and interview in the new semi-mechanized clerical process of a single department. Keeping in view the relations between the two groups of cash posters and the ledger clerks of the department Homans derived

25. Roy Burmon, B.K. Panel Discussion on Land Reforms: Sociological Perspective (Unpublished). New Delhi: Council for Cultural Studies, India International Centre, 1972, p.3.

26. Homans, G.C. Op. cit., pp. 91-102.

the conclusion that the workers used to compare themselves in terms of their status factors. He found that "the workers feel that one job is better or has higher status than another, if its characteristics realize these values to a higher degree than the other. More than this they feel that if one job is better than another in most of its characteristics, it ought to be better in all of them" (93). In other words, if they are 'in line' in terms of all status factors, their status is congruent otherwise they have incongruent status. Homans referred to status-crystallization[27] and status-equalibration[28] also in the similar sense of status-congruence.

Homans talks of status-congruence in a situation where all the status factors are related to one's achieved status. But, besides this, the status-congruence may also exist in a situation where an individual possesses both kinds of achieved and ascribed statuses which have different characteristics. The Scheduled Caste people perhaps have not yet fully developed a tendency of comparing their achieved status with others, and they are suffering from a stigma of their ascribed status. So, we have examined their comparison

27. Lenski, Gerhard "Status-Crystallization", American Sociological Review, Vol. 19, 1954, pp. 405-13.

28. Smullyan, E. Benoit "Status Types and Status-Inter-relations", American Sociological Review, Vol.9, 1944, pp. 151-61.

of achieved and ascribed statuses and called it "congruence
of statuses" in case there is a positive correlation between
them.

Ethnocentrism and Contra-identifications:

In his concept of ethnocentrism Sumner[29] brought
together various social, cultural and psychological aspects
of the phenomenon in a comparative perspective. According to
him, people have their own group as the centre of their lives
and have a sense of pride and superiority toward it while they
give secondary importance to and have a sense of contempt for
the other groups. After him, Adorno et al[30] defined and
measured ethnocentrism by distinguishing it from prejudice.
In their view, "Ethnocentrism is based on a pervasive and rigid
ingroup-outgroup distinction; it involves stereotyped negative
imagery and hostile attitudes regarding outgroups, stereotyped
positive imagery and submissive attitudes regarding ingroups,
and a hierarchical, authoritarian view of interaction in which
ingroups are rightly dominant, outgroups subordinate"[31].

In Indian situation Paranjpe[32] has measured ethnocent-
ric tendencies of various caste-groups through the Semantic

29. Sumner, W.G. Op. cit., pp. 13-15.
30. Adorno, T.W. et. al. Op. cit., pp. 31-45.
31. Referred in A.C. Paranjpe, 1970, pp. 106-107.
32. Paranjpe, A.C. Op. cit., pp. 111, 212.

Differential Scale based on rating of castes in terms of favourableness and unfavourableness of images of groups. Giving the rationality for the use of "ethnicity" for "caste groups" Paranjpe states that, "... the relative status of the caste groups affects the strength of ethnocentric tendency among the members. Another feature of the caste system that also affects the ethnocentric tendencies in an interesting way is the progressive expansion of the ingroups of an individual". Thus, in his view, "the concept of ethnocentrism refers to twin processes of identification and contra-identification". The identification at the level of ethnic or caste group is ethnocentric identification, and the identification other than that is contra-identification in which an individual identifies himself outside his own ethnic or caste group. It is very interesting to note that Scheduled Caste employees perhaps identify themselves not at one but various levels. In this study we have examined whether they identify themselves at ethnocentric (their own caste) level or contrary to that.

Nature of Data, and Methods of Data Collection

Nature of Data

Background Information:

In this set of socio-personal information we enquired from the respondents about their caste, age, marital status, number of male and female children, permanent residence, and

family's socio-economic status alongwith their educational qualification and extent to which they found education helpful in their career. We tried to know the reasons for their joining the present job, nature of appointment and difficulties they faced, if any, in getting the present job, and the duration of job besides the length of stay in Kanpur city. We also gathered information about their income particularly their monthly salary and income from other sources. Lastly, their views regarding difficulties which they are facing at present, the type of neighbourhood, and reasons for moving and not moving out of the neighbourhood were recorded.

Mobility Data:

In this set of data we asked the respondents about their job, income, current monthly expenditure and of five years ago, on essential and semi-essential items, and their social power and also that of their fathers in formal organization(s) and/or association(s). We enquired about educational qualification and also various jobs of the respondents' fathers starting from the first to the last job. Similarly, we also noted the respondents' shifting from one job to another, within a span of time especially when they were at different ages like their fathers.

Status- Inquiry:

We measured social status of the respondents, within

the caste and class hierarchies, on the basis of subjective and objective assessment. At subjective level, we recorded information of the respondents regarding their status in caste and class hierarchies, perceived by them and their acquaint- ances. Data were collected to know the positive and negative consequences of social mobility in terms of perception of levels of ritual and social distances between the Scheduled Caste respondents and non-scheduled caste people. At the objective level, status of the respondents was calculated on the basis of their educational, occupational, and income positions. Further, the caste status of the respondents was measured through their interaction with people of non-scheduled castes. Lastly, we collected data about the respondents' changing status, indicators and determining factors of such changes, and congruity of their ascribed and achieved statuses. The status of respondents' fathers was measured through perception of the respondents themselves on the basis of variables mentioned above.

Status- Identification:

In the last set of information, an effort was made, at two levels, to know the nature and level of status-identi- fication of the respondents. At one level, they were asked about their interaction patterns with people of the Scheduled and non-scheduled castes. Further, they were interviewed about

their addition of surname, and their disclosure of caste-identity to others alongwith their general identification to a visitor. Besides, we also asked about their class-identification. At the second level, data were required on the nature of behaviour of the respondents towards reference individual(s) and'/or reference group(s). Again, the respondents' perception about the status-identification of their father also was recorded.

Variables:

In the first set of the problem of measuring social mobility in the class system items in the background information of the respondents have been treated as independent variables and social mobility (change in socio-economic status) as dependent variable. In the second set, various dimensions (channels) of social mobility (change in socio-economic status) like education, occupation, income, expenditure, and social power, which positively influence one's social status, have been viewed as independent variables, while consequence of social mobility, in term of achievement of status in the caste hierarchy has been treated as dependent variable. In the last set, status-identification has been considered as dependent variable and socio-personal background and social mobility (change of status in both the class and caste systems) of the respondents as independent variables.

Scales:

Caste-Status Ranking (CSR) Scale:

There are eight major castes (Jatis) of the Scheduled Castes in Kanpur city[33]. Their numerical strength in a descending order are: Chamar (37.3%), Kori (16.8%), Pasi (11.2%), Balmiki(10.8%), Khatik (5.8%), Dhanuk (4.5%), Dhobi (4.3%) and Shilpkar (Stone cutter 2.1%). It was difficult to measure ranks of these castes by recording the views of the respondents themselves because, at present, it is true that all the Scheduled Castes are trying to establish their status superiority over each other. Therefore, a list containing the names of all the above mentioned castes was circulated among twenty such members of non-scheduled castes who either belonged to rural areas or who were aware of the ritual and secular statuses of these castes. All the twenty judges were asked to rank these castes on the basis of certain attributional /interactional[34] and ritual[35] criteria. The

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33. Bhatnagar, P.P.   Special Report on Kanpur City, Census of India, Vol. 39, No.2, 1961, p.62.

34. Marriott, M.   "Interactional and Attributional Theories of Caste Ranking" , Man in India, Vol. 39, No.2, 1959, pp. 92-107.

35. Mahar, P.M.   "A Multiple Scaling Technique for Caste Ranking", Man in India, Ibid, pp. 127-49; K.G. Aberle "Criteria of Caste-Ranking in South India", Man in India, Ibid., pp. 115-26.

judges considered power and wealth also of the members of the castes ranked by them. The status-order of these castes ranked by the judges are: Kori/Tamta/Khokhar (I), Dhobi (II), Khatik (III), Dhanuk/Bahelia/Kanjar (IV), Pasi (V), Chamar/ Kureel (VI), Dusadh (VII), and Balmiki (VIII).

Socio-Economic Status (SES) Scale:

To measure the socio-economic status of the respondents and their family we applied partially the Kuppuswamy[36] scale developed in an urban situation in India. His scale is based on three dimensions of education, occupation and income. He has assigned weightages to each item (dimensions) in a descending order. These weightages are: Postgraduate /professional - 7, graduate -6, Intermediate/post High School diploma - 5, High School -4, Middle School -3, Primary/literate -2, Illiterate -1 for education; Profession -10, Semi-profession -6, Clerical, Shop owners, Farm owners, etc. -5, Skilled workers -4, Semi-skilled workers -3, unskilled workers -2, and Unemployed -1 for occupation; and above Rs. 1000 (12), Rs.750-999 (10), Rs.500-749 (6), Rs.300-499 (4), Rs.101-299 (3), Rs.51-100 (2), below Rs.50 (1) for income.

We accepted Kuppuswamy's weightages given to education

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36. Kuppuswamy, B.   Manual of Socio-Economic Status Scale (Urban). Delhi: Manasayan, 1962. Also his "A scale to measure socio-economic status", Indian Journal of Psychology, Vol. 34, 1959, pp.21-34.

in toto but we gave arbitrary weightages to occupation and income on the basis of _face-validity value_ because the occupational and income categories in our sample are different than that of Kuppuswamy. The weightages assigned to occupations/categories of jobs are: caste occupation -0, labour -1, non-sweeper (IV) employments -2, cultivation -3, lower clerical/technical (III) works -4, upper clerical/technical (III) works -5, technical/non-technical supervisory (III) works -6, technical/non-technical (II) officers -7 and technical/non-technical (I) officers -8. Similarly, we assigned following weightages to the monthly salary/income: Upto Rs.200 (1), Rs. 201-250 (2), Rs.251-300 (3), Rs.301-350 (4), Rs.351-400 (5), Rs.401-450 (6), Rs.451-500 (7), Rs.501-600 (8), and more than Rs.600 (9). Again, it is a clear fact that in Indian society caste has been playing a significant role in determining one's socio-economic status. Even in cities the effect of caste can be seen. More than that we have measured socio-economic status of the respondents' families also residing in villages where caste still plays an important role in determining their socio-economic status. Therefore, we took caste of the respondents as a fourth dimension and assigned 8 to 1 weightages given by twenty non-scheduled caste judges as stated earlier. Thus, by aggregating weightages of all the four dimensions we measured socio-economic status of the respondents and their family.

Social Distance Scale (SDS):

For measuring the extent of behavioural social distance between the Scheduled and non-scheduled castes, we asked the respondents the question : on what topics and how often, they talked to members of non-scheduled castes? We applied a modified version of Bogardus[37] Social Distance Scale to measure such a social distance. At the probability level, we provided three response categories: more freely, freely and less freely; and assigned values to each category positively in terms of 2,1, 0 and negatively 0, 1, 2.

Similarly, at the level of ritual distance, we asked the respondents whether they were allowed to enter the kitchen, take meals/refereshments occasionally in the house and attend ceremonies of their non-scheduled caste acquaintances. Their responses, recorded in forms of all, most, some, and none, were assigned positive values of 3,2,1,0.

Social Mobility - Indices:

We have measured social mobility of the respondents through an approach of five dimensions. For this purpose, we prepared a mobility index. For a dimension like education we followed Kuppuswamy[38] who has assigned 7 to 1 weightages to

37. Bogardus, E.S. "Measuring Social Distance" in Readings in Attitude Theory and Measurement - M. Fishbein (ed.). New York: John Wiley, 1967.

38. Kuppuswamy, B. Op. cit.

various levels of education stated earlier. To other dimensions
we assigned arbitrary weightages on the basis of face-validity
values, as mentioned earlier. We gave 1 to 8 weightages to
different occupations/cadres of jobs ranging from the caste
occupation to class I government jobs. The justification for
such rankings of the said occupations/cadres of jobs can be
given in the light of prestige attached to these occupations
as, in India at present, by and large, people prefer office
employment to cultivation and caste occupations.

Similarly, we gave 1 to 9 weightages to the monthly
salary/income ranging from Rs.200 to Rs.600 and more. Then,
1 to 6 weightages were separately allotted to per month
expenditure on essential and semi-essential items. Both types
of expenditures ranged from Rs.100 to Rs.400 and more. Finally,
we assigned 1 to 9 weightages to different levels of social
power. Then, we aggregate these weightages of different
dimensions for the respondents and their fathers and deducted
the dimensional aggregated scores of their fathers from the
scores of the respondents themselves. Thus, we found an actual
amount of social mobility of the respondents and interpreted
it in terms of low, medium and high mobility.

Again, on the basis of aggregated scores of variations
of multi-dimensions we constructed an eleven-point index for
measuring the directions of social mobility among the
respondents. The directions of social mobility have been

sufficient information is available as to how many Scheduled Caste people are working in the public sector. To get the actual numbers of the Scheduled Castes employees in each administrative office of Kanpur city the District Harijan and Social Welfare office was approached but the effort was futile. Therefore, the investigator made a survey of almost all the State and Central Government offices in the city. The administrative heads of these offices were requested to provide names of the Scheduled Caste employees in their offices. Some informal techniques were also adopted for this purpose. An effort was made to enlist the Scheduled Caste officials, with the help of some employees belonging to the Scheduled and non-scheduled castes who were influential in their offices.

Thus, a comprehensive list of 600 Scheduled Caste employees in both the State and Central Government offices was prepared. As far as coverage of the list is concerned, it may not be exhaustive, because of the fact that some of the offices did not have complete record of their employees belonging to the Scheduled Castes. Therefore, out of the prepared list of the Scheduled Caste employees 40 percent (240) employees were selected for the purpose of this study. It was proposed in the beginning to interview all the employees in the list but seeing the time constraints for the requirement of the Ph.D. degree the present study was retricted to the

selected sample. In addition, the rationale of such a sample can be given in terms of a sizable representation of the Scheduled Caste employees in the city. The selection of the respondents was based on stratified random sampling, i.e.they were selected representatively from each cadre of services ranging from sweeper (IV) to administrative (I) jobs in both the State and Central Governments offices.

Methods of Data-Collection:

Data were collected on various aspects of social mobility, and achievement and identification of social status, besides some personal information about the respondents. An interview-schedule consisting of both structured and open-ended questions on various aspects was prepared (see Appendix-D) Some modifications in the schedule were made after its pretesting on twenty five respondents from all cadres of services in both the State and Central Governments offices. The respondents were taken into confidence by giving them a clear assurance that the information supplied by them would be kept strictly confidential and utilised for research purpose only. Again, rapport was established with the respondents by contacting them through their influential colleagues belonging to their respective communities, and a relatively friendly atmosphere was created during the interview period.

Most of the respondents were interviewed separately

during the office hours. Some of the respondents preferred
giving responses in cateens, and a few answered the questions
at their homes. In all cases, the respondents were put separa-
tely in an informal situation through gossipping, etc. after
each interview was over. The relevant information delivered
by them (apart from responses to the questions listed in the
interview schedule) were recorded later. But all the time the
effort was made to minimise biases.

Tabulation And Analysis of Data:

The data have been computed in the form of frequency
tables, and bivariate tables. Similarly, the associational
relationships among different independent and dependent
variables have been obtained through Chi. Square test. And
finally, a partial correlation has been drawn to measure the
extent of associational relationships among different variables.

The Time Schedule:

The present study has been completed within three and
a half years. A survey of the literature concerning various
aspects of social mobility and status-identification, and
delineation of the problem took the first six months. The
next three months were devoted to the preparation of the
interview-schedule and its pre-testing. The actual numbers
and names of the Scheduled Caste employees in various Govern-
ment offices were not easily available. Therefore, a month or

so was spent in preparing a comprehensive list of these employees pertaining to their actual numbers and names.

Since the present study is based on the Government employees, data collection took a longer time of about eight months as the Government offices, remain closed on Sundays and other gazetted holidays. Again most of the interviews were completed during office hours because it was not possible to contact the respondents at their homes located in different parts of the city. More than that, in the selection of the respondents random sampling was strictly followed, therefore, more time was consumed in contacting the persons in the sample.

The processing and computation of data took about six to eight months. And finally, writing the dissertation was completed within one year.

CHAPTER III

SOCIAL BACKGROUND: A PROFILE OF KANPUR CITY AND THE SAMPLE

In all societies numerious factors affect one's social
status and social behaviour. In an urban setting this is more
obvious as urban areas have social heterogeneity, vast variety
of media of communication, educational facilities, and an
urban-industrial culture. Since the present study is based on
data collected from the Scheduled Caste employees working in
administrative offices in Kanpur city, it is proper to have a
look at the location of such offices alongwith the total soci
milieu in which these offices function. Such an analysis is
important because a person employed in an organization is
supposed to follow its norms rigorously. Similarly, in his
neighbourhood also he has to follow certain normative order.
Thus, the work-place and neighbourhood influence social int
actions and social status of a person. By social status we
mean here the status of a person which is accorded to him a
considering all the factors influencing his status. Such st
is analysed in terms of both the ascriptive and achievement
criteria. More specifically, in the present chapter, we are
concerned with the socio-personal background of the respond
besides a brief description of physical and socio-economic
features of Kanpur city.

Kanpur City: General Features:

The City of Kanpur, the industrial metropolis of northern India and the largest city of Uttar Pradesh, is located on the right bank of the River Ganges and enjoys a central position in the State. Being one of the biggest railway junctions, Kanpur is linked with almost all the important cities of the country[1]. The Kanpur region, with a rich infra-structure provides many physical, economic and social opportunities for the growth of Kanpur city[2]. That is why, the city has become one of the most important centres of manpower, and industrial production. It has big industrial houses of woolen, jute, rayon and cotton textiles, leather goods and a large number of mills manufacturing numerous types of goods.

Besides the physical factor, the historical growth of the city was caused by economic and political factors also. The city is situated in the centre of three political frontiers of 18th century, namely, East India Company, Moghals with their capital in Delhi, and the Nawab of Oudh. In the early

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1. Singh, Hari Har   Kanpur: A Study in Urban Geography. Varanasi: Banaras Hindu University, 1972, p.1.

2. Desai, P.B.; I.M.Rossack; K.N.Sharma (eds.)   Regional Perspective of Industrial and Urban Growth: The Case of Kanpur (Papers and Proceedings of International Seminar). Bombay: Macmillan and Company Ltd., 1969, especially pp.55-104.

years of the 19th century (1801AD) the Nawab of Oudh transferred the possession of Kanpur to the British in lieu of heavy debts[3]. Since then Kanpur was in the possession of the British till the time of the Independence.

After the Independence, particularly during the recent years Kanpur has made tremendous progress in each sphere of life. The progress of Kanpur city, specially in recent years, is partly due to Kanpur Municipal Corporation which is determined to modernize the city. Recently, the responsibility of physico-ecological development of the city has been transferred to the Kanpur Development Authority (K.D.A.) which has taken up several projects like beautification of the city and construction of houses for the poor people.

If we look at the map of Kanpur city, we find that "Kanpur is a typical example of an unplanned old Indian city. Apart from the newly developed better class residential areas in the western and southern parts, the major portion of the city is covered with narrow lanes, old types of houses clustered together and crowded shops"[4]. The townscape of Kanpur

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3. Singh, Hari Har   Op. Cit., p.13.

4. Referred in M.E. Khan's The Correlates of Muslim Fertility in an Urban Setting: A case Study of Kanpur City - Ph.D. dissertation submitted to the Indian Institute of Technology, Kanpur, June 1975, p.27.

city can be characterized, in a general way, into three
distinct types of settlements: cantonment, civil lines, and
the city proper. In the cantonment area there are "ample open
spaces and scattered settlements of varied nature. Wide and
planned roads clearly indicate the British taste." In the
east of the Canning Road and on the bank of the Ganges there
are several ill-maintained bungalows of western style. Such
bungalows and a few offices "present a gloomy picture of the
area."[5]

The Civil Lines expands from Parade Market to the
north-west side of the city alongwith the Parbati Bagla Road.
Between the eastern part where the two biggest parks of the
city - Nana Rao Park and Ganesh Park are situated, and the
north-west side where the people of different background have
constructed their houses, most of the judiciary and civil
administrative offices are located. Most of the telephone
and telegraph offices are concentrated on both the sides of
Mahatma Gandhi Road, which ends at the Phoolbagh Crossing.
In this area one can easily find several banks such as State
Bank, Reserve Bank, Allahabad Bank, etc. beside Christ Church
College, Urshila District Hospital, and Head Post office. Both
district and tehsil courts, District Jail, Collectorate,

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5. Singh, Hari Har Op. cit., pp. 16-17.

Police Line, Income Tax Commissioner's and other administrative offices as well as officers' residences are situated in this area. The District Planning and some regional offices are also found in this locality.

Side by side with the Old Kanpur (Nawabganj area) there are several administrative offices as well as educational institutions. "Further west, the Water Works (Radio Station), Moti Jheel, Corporation Building (Benajhabar Telephone Exchange at the Ambedkar Road) maintain the open and healthy tradition of the area". Posh areas like Swaroop Nagar and Tilak Nagar also accomodate administrative offices like Import-Export office, Branch office of the Central Custom and Excise, etc. On the outer-fringe of the extreme west the city is expanding on both the sides of G.T. Road which links it to the Indian Institute of Technology (IIT), Kalyanpur. In between there are several educational institutions like National Sugar Institute, Kanpur University, GSVM Medical College and Government Polytechnic. In the South-east the city extends to Kidwai Nagar, Nirala Nagar and Juhi. These are basically residential areas occupied by the middle and lower class people. Lastly, the area of Sarvodaya Nagar also possesses several administrative offices at the district and regional levels. The regional labour and industries offices, Regional Employment, Central P.W.D. office, Central Custom and Excise Collectorate and several other offices are located near Kanpur Eye-Hospita

the G.T. Road.

The city proper covers the areas between Civil Lines and Cantonment. It consists "of an agglomeration of crowded brick-built mohallas (residential localities), separated by narrow lanes. It's functional pattern is not very clear due to congestion resulting from unplanned growth and poor drainage of the area"[6] it occupies. "More than 50 percent population is concentrated in this middle sector of the city which constitutes about 25 percent of the total 'built-up area' or 4 percent of the total 'corporation area'."[7] The narrow lanes in this area are tied with a chain of shops and business houses. Most of the mohallas in this area have now been converted into slums or "blighted areas".

Beside a number of 'Ahatas' (surrounded residential localities), which are another form of slums, the residential areas in several parts of the city present a most unsatisfactory look. In the mid-sixties one-fifth of the city's population lived in slums which were not fit for human habitation. That is why, Majumdar[8] called Kanpur city as a city of slums. In contrast, some other important marketing centres

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6. Singh, Hari Har Op. Cit., p.15.

7. Khan, M.E. Op. cit., p.28.

8. Majumdar, D.N. Social Contours of An Industrial City:
    Social Survey of Kanpur, 1954-56. Bombay: Asia Publishing
    House, 1960, pp. 35-36.

like Gumti No.5, Arya Nagar, Navin and PPN Markets, etc. have come upto the mark and provide consumable items for the middle classes. Similarly, there are well-planned private residential flats in Tilak Nagar, Swaroop Nagar and Lajpat Nagar areas in the south-western part of the city.

The Social and Demographic Characteristics:

The metropolitan and industrial city of Kanpur has the highest population among the KAVAL* towns. According to 1971 census, the city registered its total population at 11,54,388 with the decadal (1961-1971) growth rate of 25.8 percent. "In Kanpur, both birth and death rates, have fallen in recent times and hence there is a downward trend in natural increase. The net natural increase of 7.6 and 6.9 in the preceding two decades is due to a considerable fall in the death rate from 50 to 20. Emigration from the city, on the other hand, is negligible."[9] In case of sex composition Kanpur has a masculine character as "the number of females per thousand males has always been lower..."

If we look at the population of Kanpur city from the community point of view, it is clear that the Hindus and Muslims are the two major communities which share more than

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*   Kanpur, Agra, Varanasi, Allahabad and Lucknow.

9. Singh, Hari Har Op. cit., p.36.

two-third of the city's population. The former has about four
times more population than the latter. Among the Hindus the
Brahmans and the Scheduled Castes, the two opposite poles in
the caste-hierarchy, constitute 19.8 and 15.3 per cent popula-
tion respectively. The merchant castes share 9.5 per cent while
the Rajputs' representation is 4.9 per cent only. The percent-
age of Muslims is 10.7 while the representation of other
communities like Sikhs, Christian/Jains and Buddhists is
negligible.[10]

In Kanpur both the Hindus and the Muslims are distin-
ctly segregated as the latter are mainly concentrated in
areas of Chamanganj, Begamganj, Moolganj, etc. A majority of
the Scheduled Caste population resides in 'Ahatas', and other
clumsy and unhygenic areas in Colonelganj, Old Kanpur, Harbans
Mohal (53.0, 50.5 and 48.4 per cent respectively), Bhairoghat
(41.6), Laxmipurwa (40.4), Anwarganj, (40.0), etc. where
proper civic amenities are not available.[11]

In case of educational level of the citizens of Kanpur
city, "46.6 percent population is literate, out of which 33
per cent is educated upto primary standard and the rest have
received higher education"[12] The percentage of literacy

10. Ibid, p. 42.
11. Bhatnagar, P.P. Census of India, 1961: Special Report on
    Kanpur City, Vol. XV, part X. New Delhi: Manager of
    Publications, 1965, p.61.
12. Singh, Hari Har Op. Cit., p.43. The Statistics is based
    on 1961 Census.

among the Scheduled Castes was 28.8 in 1961 which was much below the average per centage of literacy in general in the city. In the recent decade (1961-71) the progress of literacy among the Scheduled Castes is not very satisfactory.

Regarding the employment position of persons in the city, more than 37 per cent are engaged in industrial pursuits while about 18 per cent are in trade and commerce. Around 8 per cent and 5 per cent of the working population are employed in transport and construction works respectively. The rest about 20 per cent and 3 per cent are working in administrative organizations respectively, and other occupations like vegetable growing and fishing respectively.[13] Similarly, if we look at the employment position of the Scheduled Castes population in Kanpur city, it is clear from 1961 census that only 40 per cent of them were employed in labour, household industry, and manufacturing other than household industry, in construction work, trade and commerce, transport, storage and communications, scavenging and other works[14]. But it is not clear that how many persons belonging to these castes are employed in Government jobs. Thus, it is clear from the above description that "... the city of Kanpur has all the charact-

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13. Ibid, pp. 46-47.

14. Bhatnagar, P.P. Census of India, 1961, Vol. XV (Uttar Pradesh), Part V-A(i), pp. 364-371. His Special Report on Kanpur City, 1965, p.62 can also be seen.

eristic features of an urban settlement. It has grown tremend-
ously in size, population density and heterogeneity..."[15]

After reviewing the general features of Kanpur city
it is proper to view the data on personal background of our
respondents. In the following section we shall analyse our
data regarding age, caste, residential and family background,
marital status, etc. of the respondents. Such an analysis may
help us view the social mobility and status identification of
our respondents.

II

Social Background of the Respondents:

The subjects under study were employed in various
cadres of jobs in Government administrative offices in Kanpur
city. Their distribution, according to their job-cadres, is
as follows: sweepers (7) who were employed specially for
cleaning the offices, and Class IV employees other than
sweepers (33). The bulk of the respondents came from the
upper and lower clerical staff as the maximum representation
of the Scheduled Caste employees in general, is in the
clerical cadre. From the sub-stratum point of view, the

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15. Chandra, Subhash   Urban Social Participation: A
    Comparative Study of Three Residential Areas of Kanpur
    Metropolis , Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, submitted
    to IIT Kanpur, Sept. 1970, p.62.

clerical personnel was divided into lower (40), upper (97) and supervisory (5) staff. Similarly, the technical staff like telegraphist, telephone operator, etc. under class III of the services were distributed under subordinate (19) and supervisory technical staffs (27). Lastly, there were only 12 officers in the technical and non-technical class I (4) and class II (8) categories of services.

A majority of Indian population lives in far and near villages and visits, on and often, towns and cities in search of their livelihood. This picture is more accurate in case of the Scheduled Castes in Kanpur as well as in the entire State of Uttar Pradesh as it is clear from several preceeding censuses[16]. In case of our respondents, about 70 per cent (167) of them hailed from villages and 28.7 per cent from cities. It was noted that only 4 respondents were from towns. The respondents hailing from villages and towns visited their native places regularly and owed certain rights and obligations to their Kith and Kin.

According to 1961 census, the Scheduled Castes shared 15.3 per cent of the total population of Kanpur city as mentioned in the previous section in this chapter. We have also seen in chapter 2 that out of 32 Scheduled Castes in the

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16. Bhatnagar, P.P. Op. Cit., p.61.

17. Ibid, p.62.

State only eight are numerically important in the city. These are Chamar (37.3%), Kori (16.8%), Pasi or Tamali (11.2%), Balmiki (10.8%), Khatik (5.8%), Dhanuk (4.5%), Dhobi (4.3%), and Shilpkar (Stone cutter 2.1%).[17]. This trend was seen in case of our respondents also who were randomly sampled on the basis of their job-cadres. The Chamars, including Kureel, Dohre, Jatav, Dhusia, Aherwar, and Sankhwar, represented 57.0 per cent of the total sample. Next to Chamars were Kori(14.6%) Pasi (8.3%), Dhobi (7.1%), Balmiki (4.6%), and Khatik (3.3%). Dhanuk, Bahelia and some other Scheduled Caste respondents, including Khokhar (Punjabi), Tamta, Khangar and Dusadh, were equally represented (2.5% each) in the sample and were put in the category of 'other' castes. There was no Shilpkar respondent in the sample. Some of the respondents in the 'other' Scheduled Castes category came from outside the State.

Almost all the respondents (95%) came from 20-44 years of age-group representing the first generation of Government employees through reservation facilities. There were 4.2 per cent respondents who were more than 45 years old and only 2 respondents belonged to 19 and less years of age. Thus, the average age of the respondents was about 30 years as can be

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17. Ibid, p.62.

seen from the following table.

Table 3.1 : Age of Respondents

Age (in years)	Frequency	Percentage
$\leqslant$19	2	0.8
20-24	29	12.1
25-29	73	30.4
30-34	72	30.0
35-39	29	12.1
40-44	25	10.4
45-49	6	2.5
$\geqslant$50	4	1.7
Total	240	100.0

M = 30.0

Family Composition:

A majority of the respondents (90%) was married and there were only 4.2 percent respondents who were unmarried. Three respondents were either widowers or divorces. There were 4.6 percent respondents who got remarried as their first wives either died or divorced. Whereas 15.4 percent of the subjects did not have any child, about one half of the subjects (52.5%) had an ideal number of their children (1-3

offsprings) at the time of data collection. Again, about
30 percent respondents had crossed the limit of ideal number
of their children by producing 4-6 progenies. More than that,
7 respondents had 7-9 children.

It has been observed through a number of studies that
modernization in the form of literacy, economic development,
formal relations, and urbanisation and industrialisation has
greatly influenced the structure of Indian family[18]. It is
also proved that in most of the cases the joint families are
breaking due to migration of their constituent units to urban
areas in search of jobs and more individual freedom[19]. But
none of the studies about Indian family structure ignore the
fact that in a majority of the cases the members of a nuclear
family are linked with other members of their joint family in
one way or the other. Thus, the structure and functions of
Indian family are such as no polar lines can be drawn to
classify such families into nuclear or joint. The family
composition of the persons in our sample is not opposed to
this complexity.

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18. Gore, M.S. Urbanisation and Family Change. Bombay:
    Popular Prakashan, 1968, pp.40-50. But contrary are the
    views of I.P. Desai in his Some Aspects of Family in
    Mahuwa: A Sociological Study of Jointness in a Small
    Town. Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1964 , pp.119-124.

19. Gore, M.S. Ibid, p.45.

Pauline Kolenda[20], on the basis of her data from rural sector, provided a model for family composition in India. This model is equally applicable to urban areas also. There are twelve categories in her model under which the entire Indian family structure is composed. We tried to view our data on family composition of the respondents and found that with slight variations their family composition was similar to the model provided by Kolenda. Both the modular categories and distribution of respondents, according to their family composition, can be seen in Table 3.2.

The eleventh and twelveth categories in the model pertain to Supplemented Lineal- Collateral Joint family. The example of such a family can be given in terms of father's widowed sister or brother, or an unmarried nephew of the father living together; and other persons such as a widow woman living with a male servant; grandmother living with an unmarried grandchild, and several others. But there was no respondent, by chance, whose family composition fell in the last two categories. A majority of the cases (22%) belonged to the Lineal-Joint Family category (parents, respondent and his wife and married son), followed by Supplemented Nuclear (17.1% -

20. Kolenda, Pauline M. "Region, Caste, and Family Structure: A Comparative Study of the Indian Joint Family" in Structure and Change in Indian Society - Milton Singer and Bernard S. Cohn (eds.). Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1968, pp.339-396.

husband and wife plus one or more unmarried, separated, or
widowed relatives of the parents, beside the unmarried chil-
dren).

Table 3.2: Family Composition of Respondents

Family types	Frequency	Percentage
1. Nuclear*	35	14.6
2. Supplemented nuclear	41	17.1
3. Sub-nuclear*	2	0.8
4. Supplemented sub-nuclear*	2	0.8
5. Collateral joint	20	8.3
6. Supplemented collateral joint	30	12.5
7. Lineal joint	54	22.5
8. Supplemented lineal joint*	10	4.2
9. Lineal-Collateral joint	39	16.3
10. Supplemented Lineal-Collateral Joint	7	2.9
Total	240	100.0

M = 5.375

* Nuclear - husband, wife with or without unmarried children;
  Sub-Nuclear - Widow/widower with unmarried children or
  siblings - whether unmarried or widowed, separated,
  divorced living together; Supplemented Sub-Nuclear -
  members of a formerly complete nuclear family plus some
  other unmarried, divorced, or widowed relatives who are...

The Lineal-Collateral Joint family (16.3%) - parents and their two or more married sons, plus unmarried children of the three or more couples) was followed by Supplemented Collateral Joint family (12.5% - two or more married couples with their unmarried children plus unmarried, divorced, or widowed relatives). The nuclear family composition was observed only in 14.6 per cent cases, the reason for which may be the rights and obligations of the first generation of the Scheduled Castes who have joined government jobs. The average family composition of the respondents lies in the category of the Collateral Joint Family where they had two or more married brothers plus their unmarried children. In a majority of the cases most of the members of the joint family were living separately but were related to the respondents in one way or the other.

Socio-Economic Status of Family:

It is a well-known fact that a majority of the Scheduled Castes has been living the life of a pauper, yet some improvements have taken place in their conditions. Such

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....not a member of the nuclear family - a widow/widower and her/his unmarried children plus widowed mother-in-law; Supplemented Lineal Joint - a lineal joint family plus unmarried, divorced or widowed relatives who do not belong to either of the lineally linked nuclear family - father's widower brother or the son's wife's unmarried brother.

an improvement can easily be seen among those persons of the Scheduled Castes who are utilising the available government facilities to the maximum extent. The socio-economic status of the family of the respondents does not support the above statement as a majority of the respondents (78.3%) came from the groups of low socio-economic status. But 20.0 percent respondents fell in the category of families having medium socio-economic status whereas only 1.7 percent (4) belonged to the high one. Though the social change among the Scheduled Castes is an induced one as the Government is trying to improve their socio-economic conditions, yet this is not considerably true in case of families of most of the respondents.

We can look at the distribution of the respondents according to the socio-economic status of their families, and compare it with their official designation and caste background. It is clear that, in addition to all the sweepers, there were around 76 percent (25) class IV non-sweeper, 80 percent (32) lower clerical, 82.5 percent (80) upper clerical, 62.5 percent (20) technical and non-technical supervisory staff, 87.5 percent (7) class II, and 75 percent (3) class I officers who came from the low socio-economic status of their family. Similarly, around 24 percent (8) class IV non-sweeper, 17.5 percent (7) lower and 16.5 percent (16) upper clerical, 26.3 percent (5) lower technical, 31.2 percent (10) supervisor and one each class II and class I officer respondents

belonged to families of middle socio-economic status. Lastly, there were only 4 respondents employed in lower and upper clerical (one in each) and 2 in supervisor cadres who came from the families of high socio-economic status.

In a similar way, all the Balmiki respondents (11) belonged to the families of low socio-economic status. While a majority (around 95%) of the Chamars in the sample came from the low socio-economic status, only 4 and 3 respondents of this caste belonged to the families of medium and high socio-economic status respectively. Further, about 80 percent (28) of Kori and 64.7% (11) of Dhobi respondents belonged to the family of medium socio-economic status. But a majority of Khatik (87.5%), Pasi (95%) and 'other' caste (66.6%) respondents came from the families of low socio-economic status. Lastly, rest of the Pasi (1) and 'other' caste (4) respondents belonged to families of medium socio-economic status and 1 Khatik respondent came from family of high socio-economic status. Thus, a majority of the respondents (78.3%) belonging to various Scheduled Castes came from families of low socio-economic status.

Before analysisng educational qualification of the respondents if we see the level of literacy among the Scheduled Castes in general, it is clear that the level of literacy among the Scheduled Castes, in general, in the entire

Uttar Pradesh is very low, but in case of the level of educational qualification Chamar and Dhobi males occupy the top and Balmikis the bottom rungs. Similarly, in case of literates with minimum educational levels, the first place goes to Kori males (237 in per thousand). In case of Matriculate or Higher Secondary education the Chamar males are at the top. Reverse is the case about females of the Scheduled Castes with some variations. But, on the whole, literacy among the Scheduled Castes - both males and females - is alarmingly limited[21].

When we sketch a chart of caste-wise educational qualifications of our respondents, we find that the census observation is, to some extent, correct. It is clear from Table 3.3 that all the Chamar respondents in the sample were literate and a majority of them received education above High School. About 25 percent Chamar respondents were graduates and post-graduates. Next came Koris followed by Pasis and Dhobis who received education at all levels. Balmikis also were in no way inferior to other castes respondents regarding their educational qualification though there was none who received education beyond the graduate level.

A majority of the respondents had atleast passed High School examination and a significant number had obtained

21. Bhatnagar, P.P. Census of India - 1961 (Uttar Pradesh) Vol. 15, Part V - A (ii), 1965, p.433.

Table 3.3 : Caste background of the respondents and their educational qualification.

Caste Background	Education qualification							Total
	Illiterate	Literate	Jr. High School	High School	Intermediate.	Graduate.	Post Graduate	
Balmiki	1(9.1)	3(27.3)	3(27.3)	-	1(9.1)	3(27.3)	-	11
Chamar	-	2(1.5)	15(10.9)	15(10.9)	46(33.6)	33(24.1)	26(19.0)	137
Dhobi	-	-	3(17.7)	4(23.5)	5(29.4)	4(23.5)	1(5.9)	17
Khatik	-	-	-	-	3(37.5)	3(37.5)	2(25.0)	8
Kori	-	2(5.7)	5(14.3)	7(20.0)	12(34.3)	7(20.0)	2(5.7)	35
Pasi	-	2(10.0)	2(10.0)	3(15.0)	4(20.0)	5(25.0)	4(20.0)	20
Others	2(16.7)	-	1(8.3)	1(8.3)	3(25.0)	4(33.4)	1(8.3)	12
Total	3	9	29	30	74	59	36	240

certficate/degree beyond that. Only 3 respondents were illiterate and 9 literate. Out of the rest around 12.0 per cent received education upto Middle School and were engaged in scavenging (2), class IV other than scavenging (19), lower (5) and upper (2) clerical and lower technical (1) works. Again, 12.5 percent respondents passed High School examination and a majority of them was serving as lower and upper clerical staff. Those who passed Intermediate (30.8%) and Graduate (24.6%) examinations were mostly

employed in clerical and technical cadres. Lastly, 15 percent
of the total respondents were post-graduate and most of them
were employed in clerical jobs. Only 7 of them were employed
in officers dacres. A notable fact was observed that around
6 percent (14) respondents were continuing their studies at
various levels which showed their positive acceptance of the
value of education.

Table 3.4: Designation in job and educational qualification.

| Designation in job | Educational Qualifications | | | | | | | Total |
	Illiterate	Literate	Jr. High School	High School	Intermediate	Graduate	Post Graduate	
Sweeper	2(28.6)	3(42.8)	2(28.6)	–	–	–	–	7
Non-Sweeper (IV)	1(3.0)	3(9.0)	19(57.7)	6(18.3)	3(9.0)	1(3.0)	–	33
L.D.C.	–	2(5.0)	5(12.5)	7(17.5)	16(40.0)	7(17.5)	3(7.5)	40
U.D.C.	–	1(1.0)	2(2.1)	13(13.4)	32(33.0)	33(34.0)	16(16.5)	97
Lower Tech. Staff	–	–	1(5.3)	1(5.3)	4(21.0)	8(42.1)	5(26.3)	19
Supervisory Staff	–	–	–	3(9.4)	17(53.1)	7(21.9)	5(15.6)	32
Officer (II)	–	–	–	–	2(25.0)	3(37.5)	3(37.5)	8
Officer(I)	–	–	–	–	–	–	4(100.0)	4
Total	3	9	29	30	74	59	36	240

Education among the Scheduled Castes is a comparatively recent phenomenon and has been accepted among them, by and large, in the present generation. This can clearly be seen in Table 3.5. The educational attainment varies from 20 to 45 and above years of age-range but in the age-group of 45 and more years there were only 10 educated respondents and 8 of them received education upto High School. This supports our earlier statement made in this paragraph. In the following table we merged the 'illiterate' category into the 'literate' as all the

Table 3.5: Age of the respondents and their educational Qualification.

Age (in years)	Educational Qualification						Total
	Liter-ate.	Jr.High School	High School	Inter mediate/ post High School Diploma	Gradua-tion	Post gradua tion	
20-24	2(6.5)	4(13.0)	2(6.5)	13(41.9)	7(22.5)	3(9.6)	31
25-29	3(4.1)	8(10.9)	6(8.2)	26(35.7)	21(28.8)	9(12.3)	73
30-34	2(2.9)	10(13.9)	5(6.9)	23(31.9)	16(22.2)	16(22.2)	72
35-39	1(3.5)	6(20.7)	5(17.2)	6(20.7)	7(24.1)	4(13.8)	29
40-44	1(4.0)	1(4.0)	7(28.0)	5(20.0)	7(28.0)	4(16.0)	25
⁄⁄45	3(30.0)	-	5(50.0)	1(10.0)	1(10.0)	-	10
Total	12	29	30	74	59	36	240

$x^2 = 46.5$, df.= 25, $P < .01$, C = .5

three illiterate respondents could sign their names. We found that the probability of age variations affecting educational level of the respondents was very high (P $<$.01), and coefficient of contingency significantly correlated (C = .5). That is, for the obvious reason, the younger respondents were more educated than the older one.

The material rewards which one gets out of one's services rendered to others are very much dependent on the nature and duration of services themselves. This can very easily be examined in terms of designation and seniority in jobs of the subjects. Those who were employed in superior cadres of jobs, were drawing better monthly emoluments than those who were engaged in inferior jobs. A majority of the respondents came from upper (97) and lower (40) clerical staff, followed by upper (27) and lower (19) technical one. Most of the respondents in class IV non-sweeper jobs belonged to Rs. 259-350 (p.m.) salary group. Similarly, a large number of the upper clerical, and technical and non-technical supervisory staff were drawing more than Rs.500/- per month as salary. All the officers were getting their total monthly emoluments in four figures. In any case, the average per month net salary of the respondents was around Rs.375/-.

Thus, a hypothesis that service seniority leads to better emoluments can easily be verified by looking at the

Table 3.6 in which the calculated x^2 value is 94.9 , and probability of influence of the former over the latter is very high (P $<$ .001). Again, if we compare their per month salary to their service seniority, we find a positive causal relationship and the value of co-efficient of contingency (C = .532) highly significant.

Table 3.6 : Service Seniority and Salary of the respondents

Service seniority (in years)	Salary (in Rupees)								Total
	Upto 250	251-300	301-350	351-400	401-450	451-500	501-600	$>$ 600	
I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X
to	4(40.0)	13(41.9)	8(42.2)	33(66.0)	8(22.2)	17(32.7)	1(6.2)	3(11.5)	87
·10	3(30.0)	7(22.6)	1(5.4)	13(26.0)	20(55.6)	13(25.0)	6(37.5)	3(11.5)	66
-15	1(10.0)	9(29.1)	6(31.6)	2(4.0)	8(22.2)	15(28.8)	3(18.8)	7(26.9)	51
-20	1(10.0)	2(6.4)	3(15.4)	1(2.0)	-	5(9.6)	6(37.5)	8(30.8)	26
-25 d ove	1(10.0)	-	1(5.4)	1(2.0)	-	2(3.9)	-	5(19.3)	10
tal	10(100.0)	31(100.0)	19(100.0)	50(100.0)	36(100.0)	52(100.0)	16(100.0)	26(100.0)	240

x^2 = 94.9 , df = 28, P = $<$ .001 , C = .532

In addition, most of the respondents owned some landed property. Their lands ranged from 3 to 30 acres. Around 20 percent respondents had upto 3 acres of land while there were only two respondents who possessed land even more than 30 acres. But around 40 percent respondents did not have any land of their own. This included the respondents hailing from cities (69) and towns (4) also. Such a statistics shows the affluence of a majority of our respondents among the Scheduled Castes. But in comparison to most of the people of other communities owning lands, the amount of lands possessed by respondents was not much. Besides, more than three-fourth respondents (189) had their own houses either in Kanpur city or in their parental towns or villages. Further, there were 41.6 percent respondents in the sample who owned Kaccha, and around 36 percent (86) owned pucca houses.

Other characteristics of the Sample :

If we look at the data of the respondents regarding the duration of their stay in Kanpur city, it is clear that a sizable percentage (26.7) of them hailed from Kanpur city itself. Around 39 percent (93) of the respondents had completed upto 5 years and about 35 percent (86) from 6 to 10 years of their stay in the city of Kanpur. The rest had completed their stay beyond 10 years. Thus, a majority of the respondents hailing from rural background had sufficient experience

of urban living though they were related to their Kith and
Kin, living in villages and towns, in one way or the other.
This fact is also supported by their total seniority in their
present job. About 63 percent of the respondents had comple-
ted 6 to 30 years of their service, and around 37 percent
were completing upto 5 years in their present job.

All studies on the caste system have observed the
lowest position of the Scheduled Castes in the caste-hierarchy.
Caste system is a unique system as, side by side its universal
hierarchy, it has evolved numerous sub-hierarchies among its
constituent castes groups. The Scheduled Castes also are not
out of such sub-hierarchies. Each Scheduled Caste tries to rank
it higher than the other in the Scheduled Caste-hierarchy. In
this context, an effort was made to rank castes of the respond-
ents by seeking the judgements of twenty non-scheduled castes
judges to avoid any bias. The judges were supposed to be aware
of the ritual and secular functions of the respondents' castes.
The details of caste ranking can be seen in Chapter 2. The
ranked statuses of castes of the respondents are given in
Table 3.7.

It was observed that all the judges unanimously agreed
upon the low status of Balmiki, and Dusadh castes which are
engaged in scavenging, pig-rearing and other similar filthy
jobs. The respondents belonging to such a low caste status

Table 3.7: Rank-position of Caste of Respondents and their
Family Members in the Scheduled Caste-Hierarchy.

Rank	Frequency	Percentage
Low- Balmiki, Dusadh	24	10.0
Middle - Bahelia/Dhanuk, Chamar, Pasi	158	65.8
High - Dhobi, Khatik, Khokhar, Kori, Tamta	58	24.2
Total	240	100.0

were 24 in our sample. Further, Bahelia/Dhanuk, Chamar and
Pasi castes were ranked together and were assigned the middle
status. Their middle status in the Scheduled Caste-hierarchy
may be due to their relatively high literacy level and political
awareness, on the one hand, and their affiliation to their
traditional caste-callings, on the other. Similarly, Dhobi,
Khatik, Khokhar (Punjabi), Kori and Tamta (working with
brass metals in the hill region of Uttar Pradesh) were assigned
high status among all the Scheduled Castes. The reason for their
high status could be given in terms of their association with
comparatively clean occupations and their better socio-economic
status in comparison to the people of other Scheduled Castes.

In the end, types of neighbourhood of the respondents were also recorded. It was observed that a majority of the respondents had housing problems as they had serious complaints against the non-scheduled caste house-owners. The house-owners did not easily allow the respondents to occupy the houses after knowing their Scheduled Caste background. However, a distribution of the respondents, according to the types of their neighbourhood, shows that 33.3 percent (80) respondents were living in the localities of their own castes. Similarly, 29.6 percent (71) respondents were residing in the localities of other castes while 37.1 percent (69) got accomodation in the localities occupied by both the Scheduled and non-scheduled castes.

It is not out of context to mention here the caste background of the respondents who were residing in various neighbourhoods. It is clear from Table 3.8 that a majority of the Balmiki respondents who were engaged in scavenging jobs, were residing only in their own caste localities, which are virtually slums. Similarly, a majority of the Chamars in the sample were residing in localities occupied by other castes, and by their own castes. Those Chamar respondents who resided in the neighbourhoods of their own caste, were living in 'Ahatas'. Finally, the Koris who were living with their caste fellows, were concentrated in the locality of Chamanganj Koriana, an area behind the PPN Market.

Table 3.8: Caste Background of Respondents and Types of
Their Neighbourhood.

Caste back-ground	Types of neighbourhood (caste background)			Total
	Own caste	Other castes	Both Scheduled & non-scheduled castes	
Balmiki	9 (81.8)	1 (9.1)	1 (9.1)	11
Chamar	43 (31.4)	44 (32.1)	50 (36.5)	137
Dhobi	5 (29.4)	6 (35.3)	6 (35.3)	17
Khatik	2 (25.0)	1 (12.5)	5 (62.5)	8
Kori	12 (34.3)	7 (20.0)	16 (45.7)	35
Pasi	8 (40.0)	8 (40.0)	4 (20.0)	20
Other	1 (33.3)	4 (8.3)	7 (58.4)	12
Total	80	71	89	240

Thus, we conclude that the Scheduled Castes have
a sizable population in the city and a majority of them
belong to Chamar and Kori castes. These two castes have
comparatively high level of literacy. Further, from the
point of view of social background of the respondents, a
majority of them received education upto graduate and post-
graduate levels, and were employed in clerical jobs. Most
of the respondents belonged to Chamar, Kori and Pasi castes,

and came from villages. In addition, a large majority of the respondents was young (between 24 and 45 years of age) and married. They had an average family size of 5-6 members residing with them in the city. Similarly, a large number of the respondents came from the families of low socio-economic status and the average duration of their stay in Kanpur city was around 9 years. Finally, most of the respondents resided in localities of both the Scheduled and non-scheduled castes though some of them faced problems in occupying houses in non-scheduled caste localities.

SOCIAL MOBILITY: A MULTIPLE APPROACH

In this chapter, we attempt to measure social mobility among Scheduled Caste Government employees in Kanpur city through a multiple approach based on the dimensions[1] of education, occupation, income, expenditure pattern and social power. Since our concern is to measure intergenerational social mobility among the Scheduled Caste respondents, we proceed with the base line of their father's education, job, income, expenditure pattern and social power. We present here a model of social mobility on the basis of quantitative analysis of positions of the respondents and their fathers with the help of a multi-dimensionality of mobility.

Data on all the five dimensions, mentioned above, about the respondents and their fathers have been weighted according to the well-accepted ranking methods[2]. With the help of such calculated scores the status of the respondents and

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1. Some of the dimensions have been suggested by S.M.Lipset and Hans L. Zetterberg in their paper "A Theory of Social Mobility" in Transactions of the Third World Congress of Sociology, Vol. III. London: International Sociological Association, 1956, pp. 155-177.

2. The ranking of some dimensions is based on B. Kuppuswamy's Manual of Socio-Economic Status Scale (Urban). Delhi: Manasayan, 1962.

their fathers have been measured separately. Then, we have measured the actual amount of social mobility among the respondents by substracting the aggregated status scores of their fathers from their own scores. Thus, we have interpreted the amount of social mobility among the respondents in terms of low, medium and high mobility. Similarly, the direction of social mobility has been analysed in terms of vertical and horizontal mobility as has been mentioned in chapter 2.

Methodologically, the above mentioned procedure of measuring sons' status-mobility by substracting the status of their fathers from their own status is too simple, and it does not provide the actual level of status of the sons. According to Hawkes[3], such a method "may lead to gross misinterpretations of evidence". In his view, the son's status is an aggregation of his achievements plus orientations and aspirations (A) of his father about him. So, the author suggests a correct procedure in the form of a mathematical model[4] for measuring son's status mobility.

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3. Hawkes, Ronald K.   "Some Methodological Problems in Explaining Social Mobility", American Sociological Review, Vol. 37, No.32, (June) 1972, pp. 294-300.

4. His model can be seen in the following equation:
$F = \psi f$, $S = \mathcal{X} F + \psi A + \psi_s s$, $A = \beta F + \psi \alpha$, $M = S - F$; Where F = Father's status, S = Son's status, A = 'Achievement Orientation', M= Mobility of son; and , $\psi + \psi_s$, ψ = independent exogeneous variables affecting F, S, and A respectively; α, β, ψ = slope parameters relating the variables.

be analysed in terms of mobility-dimensions like education, occupation, income, expenditure pattern and social power. Such an analysis of background information is necessary because it will provide a comparative framework in which measurement of inter-generational social mobility is possible.

Educational Dimension:

It is a known fact that literacy among the Scheduled Castes is less than that of the general population. Similar is the case of rate of growth of literacy among them as has been mentioned in the previous chapter. If we view our data in this frame, we find that educational level of the respondents' fathers was very low as a majority of them was illiterate. It was noted that fathers of 10 out of 12 officer respondents were completely illiterate. In case of two officer respondents, the father of a class II officer had received an education upto Junior High School and of the other (class I officer) Intermediate levels. Fathers of the sweeper respondents were illiterate, excepting two who were merely literate. Similarly, there were only 11 subordinate and supervisory staffs whose fathers received High School and Intermediate education.

Further, if we compare fathers' educational level to that of the respondents, we find that all the class I officer respondents were post-graduate. A majority of the sweeper

respondents were educated upto Middle School level and there

was only one such respondent who was illiterate. Similarly,

a majority of the non-sweeper, clerical and supervisory staffs

had received education upto graduate and post-graduate levels.

Thus, in comparison to their fathers educational level of all

the respondents was invariably very high. The variation of

educational qualification of respondents and their fathers

from the points of view of the respondents' caste, residential

background, socio-economic status of family, age and service

seniority can be seen in Tables 4.1 to 4.5 in Appendix - A.

Table 4.1 : Respondents' job-designation and variation of
educational qualification of them and their fathers

Respondents' job designation	Educational variation			Total
	Less than father	Equal	More than father	
1. Sweeper (IV)	-	1(14.3)	6(85.7)	7(100.0)
2. Non-sweeper(IV)	1(3.0)	3(9.1)	29(87.9)	33(100.0)
3. Lower Division Clerk.	-	3(7.5)	37(92.5)	40(100.0)
4. Upper Division Clerk	-	1(1.0)	96(99.0)	97(100.0)
5. Lower technical staff	-	-	19(100.0)	19(100.0)
6. Supervisory staff.	1(3.1)	1(3.1)	30(93.8)	32(100.0)
7. Officer (II)	-	-	8(100.0)	8(100.0)
8. Officer (I)	-	-	4(100.0)	4(100.0)
Total	2	9	229	240

Occupational Dimension:

It is clear from the Governments statistics[5] regarding representation of the Scheduled Castes in different cadres of the Government jobs that a majority of Scheduled Caste working population is employed in menial and clerical jobs. Excluding sweeper (IV) and clerical (III) cadres, their representation in supervisory (III) and officer (I & II) cadres of employments was much meagre in 1968: 2.1 percent (I), 3.1 percent (II), 9.3 percent (III) and 18.2 percent (IV) excluding sweepers. There have been marginal differences during recent years. This trend was visible in our sample also as 14.2 per cent (33) and 65 percent (156) respondents were employed in non-sweeper (IV) and clerical and technical (III) cadres respectively. There was meagre representation of the subjects in sweeper (IV) cadres because a bulk of the sweeper population is engaged in sweeping work which comes under the jurisdiction of Municipal Corporation. Further, the number of respondents in supervisory (III) and administrative (II & I) cadres were 32, 8 and 4 respectively.

If we compare jobs of the respondents with that of their fathers, it is clear that a sizable number (around 48%)

5.   Bose, N.K.   Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, 1968-69 (Eighteenth Report), Vols. I & II. Delhi: Government of India, 1969, p.36.

of their fathers was, engaged in agriculture. While fathers
of about 23 percent respondents were agricultural and non-
agricultural labourers, there were 8.3 percent respondents
whose fathers were engaged in their traditional caste occupa-
tions. A majority (76%) of the rest was employed in subordi-
nate services whereas in 9 cases fathers held supervisory (4)
and administrative (5) jobs. There were only 3 cases where
the fathers were engaged in other works like political lead-
ership, social work , etc. Thus, there was upward occupation-
al mobility among 83.3 percent respondents, and such mobility
was primarily due to reservation in Government jobs which was
not available, by and large, to the respondents' fathers.

Table 4.2: Job-designation of the respondents and variation
of jobs of them and their fathers.

Job-Desig- nation	Job-Variation			Total
	Lower than father	Equal	Higher than father	
1. Sweeper (IV)	-	5(71.4)	2(28.6)	7(100.0)
2. Non-sweeper(IV)	4(12.1)	12(36.4)	17(51.5)	33(100.0)
3. Lower Division Clerk	-	9(22.5)	31(77.5)	40(100.0)
4. Upper Division Clerk	4(4.1)	2(2.1)	91(93.8)	97(100.0)
5. Lower Technical staff	-	1(5.3)	18(94.7)	19(100.0)
6. Supervisory staff	2(6.3)	1(3.1)	29(90.6)	32(100.0)
7. Officer (II)	-	-	8(100.0)	8(100.0)
8. Officer (I)	-	-	4(100.0)	4(100.0)
Total	10	30	200	240

The occupational variation of the respondents and their fathers can be compared from the points of views of caste, age, residential background, socio-economic status of the family and job-seniority also of the respondents (See Table 4.6 to 4.10 in Appendix-A). It is generally said that occupational mobility is more among persons who reside in cities than those who are residents of villages. In our sample the picture was otherwise because we did not consider those respondents as urban residents who hailed from villages and were currently residing in the city(See Table 4.8 in Appendix -A).

Income-Dimension:

The income of the respondents and of their fathers can be compared in terms of their monthly emoluments which they were receiving in their respective jobs. We have already seen in the last chapter that most of the respondents were drawing a monthly salary of more than Rs.300/- p.m. and there were only 10 respondents who drew Rs.250/- and less as their monthly emoluments. The respondents belonging to sweeper category were drawing a salary upto Rs.300/- per month, where- as all the officers were getting their monthly emoluments in four figures. Similarly, the middle level employees were in the salary group of Rs.351-500 per month.

Table 4.3: Respondents' job-designation and variation of income of them and their fathers.

Job-Designation	Income variation (per month)			Total
	Lower than father	Equal	Higher than father	
1. Sweeper (IV)	3(42.9)	-	4(57.1)	7(100.0)
2. Non-sweeper(IV)	5(15.2)	-	28(84.8)	33(100.0)
3. Lower Division Clark.	2(5.0)	-	38(95.0)	40(100.0)
4. Upper Division Clerk.	3(3.1)	-	94(96.9)	97(100.0)
5. Lower Technical staff.	-	-	19(100.0)	19(100.0)
6. Supervisory staff.	4(12.5)	1(3.1)	27(84.4)	32(100.0)
7. Officer (II)	-	-	8(100.0)	8(100.0)
8. Officer (I)	-	-	4(100.0)	4(100.0)
Total	17	1	222	240

In comparison to the respondents, the income of their fathers was much lower as it is apparent from the above table. In case of 20 respondents their fathers' monthly income was $\leq$ 300/- rupees. Fathers of all the sweeper and officer (I) respondents were at the opposite poles as the former's monthly income was $\leq$ 300 rupees while in case of the latter they were

earning $>$ 400/- rupees per month. The income of fathers of
other respondents was, by and large, invariably distributed
but in any case their monthly income was not more than Rs.300/-.
Thus, in case of income also we find a clear direction of
upward mobility among the respondents. This shows the positive
effect of the report of the Third Pay Commission which was
implemented a few years ago. The fathers who were employed in
Government jobs and who retired earlier were debarred from
its benefits.

Income variation of the respondents and their fathers
can be viewed in terms of the background of their caste. There
was only one respondent belonging to the Pasi caste whose per
month salary was equal to the income of his father. Then, all
the respondents whose monthly income (salary) was lower than
that of fathers belonged to Balmiki (3), Chamar (8), Dhobi (2)
Kori (2) and Pasi (2) castes. Similarly, 92.5 percent respon-
dents were upwardly mobile regarding their per month salary
and they came from almost all castes in the sample. Further,
from the point of view of respondents' seniority in their
present jobs 7.1 percent respondents having monthly salary
below that of their fathers had completed their service of
1-15 years. Besides, the income variation of the respondents
and their fathers can be seen, from the points of view of
the residential background and socio-economic status of family

also (See Tables 4.11 and 4.12 in Appendix - A).

The Expenditure Dimension:

The impact of inflation and introduction of new urban consumer goods draw a clear demarcation line between the consumption patterns of the urban dwellers and their counterparts living in villages. Though the consumption pattern has changed considerably in villages too, yet the comparison of the present consumption patterns in cities with that of the villages of about twenty five years ago gives a different picture[6]. Most of the respondents (82.1%) spent about 60 per cent of their monthly salary (about Rs.300/-) on essential consumer items like food, cloth, housing, etc. A few officers, 4 sweepers, and a majority of clerical and supervisory staffs fell in this category. But reverse was the order in case of semi-essential expenditures, though the officers, on an average, maintained their characteristics of higher expenditure on semi-essential items.

Further, in case of expenditure on essential items there were 71.6 per cent fathers who spent 60 percent and more

6. Gupta, Devendra B.   Consumption Patterns in India.
    New Delhi: Tata McGraw-Hill Publishing Co. Ltd., 1973,
    pp. 3-7. All India total percentage/expenditure on food /of
    and non-food items in rural sector was 70.25 and 29.75 while
    in urban sector it was 58.46 and 41.54 respectively
    (based on Government of India statistics, 1963).

amount of their income. Besides, there were about 18 percent
(43) fathers who spent around 60 to 75 percent amount of
their monthly income on essential items. The fact was noted
that the fathers of 75 percent (9) officer respondents spent
an average amount of only 50 percent of their monthly income
on items under essential expenditure. Similar was the case
regarding fathers' expenditure on semi-essential items also.
For a comparison of essential and semi-essential expenditures
of the respondents and their fathers Tables 4.13 and 4.14
in Appendix -A can be seen.

A majority of the respondents (85.8%) belonging to
various castes was upwardly mobile from the point of view of
the essential expenditure also. Such respondents represented
the following Scheduled Castes in our sample: Balmiki (81.8%),
Chamar (97.8%), Dhobi (82.4%), Khatik (87.5%), Kori (94.3%),
Pasi (90%), and others (91.6%). There were only two respond-
ents of Chamar caste whose monthly essential expenditure was
equal to that of their fathers. The caste background of those
respondents (32) whose monthly expenditure on essential items
was lower than that of their fathers was as follows. Balmiki
(2), Chamar (21), Dhobi (3), Khatik (1), Kori (2), Pasi (2)
and other (1). Similarly, in case of variations of semi-
essential expenditure also of the respondents and their
fathers, the number of respondents whose such expenditure was

more than that of their fathers was 219 (91.2%). Such varia-
tion was observed among the respondents belonging to all
the castes in our sample. Thus, from the point of view of the
semi-essential expenditure also a large majority of the
respondents was upwardly mobile. In other words, both the
essential and semi-essential expenditures varied irrespective
of caste background of the respondents.

Again, analysing variations in essential expenditures
from the point of view of age of the respondents we found
that out of 32 respondents, whose monthly essential expendi-
ture was less than that of their fathers, 24 were of the age-
groups of 20-24 and 25-29. This means such respondents did
not have as much family liabilities as their fathers had. Or
they spent more proportionate amount of their income on semi-
essential items. Further, in the age-group of 30-34 and 35-39
there were only 6 and 2 such respondents respectively. In
addition, there were only two respondents, coming from the
age-groups of 20-24 and 30-34, whose monthly essential
expenditure was equal to that of their fathers.

Further, the number of respondents spending more
amount on semi-essential items was slightly greater (219)
than their number spending on essential items. And their
number spending lower amount on such items in comparison to
their fathers was less (14). Such respondents came from all

the age groups. There were only 7 respondents coming from
age-groups of 25-29 (3), 30-34 (3) and 40-44 (1) years who
spent the amount on semi-essential items equal to that of
their fathers. Thus, age of the respondents also did not have
any bearing on the pattern of their expenditure though a few
respondents spent proportionately more amount of their salary
on semi-essential items rather than on essential ones.

Finally, from the point of view of the socio-economic
status of family, all the respondents who spent lower amount
in comparison to that of their fathers on essential items
belonged to families having low (28) and medium (4) socio-
economic status. Again, those who spent an amount equal to
their fathers on such items came from low (2) socio-economic
status of families. Similar was the case of semi-essential
expenditure also. All the 4 respondents coming from high
socio-economic status of family spent more amount than that
of their fathers on both the essential and semi-essential
items. The variations of essential and semi-essential expen-
ditures of the respondents and their fathers can be seen from
the points of view of the residence and service-seniority of
the respondents also (See Tables 4.15 and 4.16 in Appendix-A).

The Dimension of Social Power:

Beteille[7] has analysed power in terms of its location

7. Beteille, Andre'   Caste, Class and Power. Bombay:
    Oxford University Press, 1966, pp. 4, 143.

in formal structures, unbounded informal groupings, and
networks of interpersonal relations within the frame of
economic, ritual and other social sanctions though his main
emphasis is on political power. But, unlike political power,
social power of a person is defined here in terms of his
affiliation to certain organizations, decision-making capacity
and influence over others. Such a phenomenon of social power
has been analysed here in terms of role expectations from and
role performance[8] by an individual. We have interpreted social
power in degrees of low, medium and high. By 'low' social
power we mean, an active participation in an organization
without holding any office of authority. Again, by 'medium'
social power is meant that a person has some power of taking
independent decision in certain cases like disposal of offi-
cial duties, organizing meetings, and influencing others both
inside and outside a formal organization. And lastly, a person
enjoys 'high' power if he holds an executive, and independent
decision-making authority and an overall control over others.

We found a large majority of the respondents possess-
ing low (59.7%) and medium (35%) social power while there were
only 5.8 percent respondents who possessed high social power.

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8. Spinard, William " Power in Local Communities" in
   Class, Status and Power: Social Stratification in Compa-
   rative Perspective - Reinhard Bendix and S.M. Lipset
   (eds.). New York: The Free Press, 1966, pp.218-231.

There were two respondents each in cadres of non-sweeper (IV)
and officer (II) who were holding'high' social power. In case
of the former, the respondent (Divisional General Secretary)
held a very important position of decision-making in the
employees union whereas in case of the latter the respondent
was administrative head and had power of taking independent
decisions and influencing others inside and outside his office.
The power position of the respondents' fathers was clearly
seen in case of 81.6 percent in low, 14.5 percent in medium
and only 3.7 percent in high categories. This shows the low
social power of fathers in comparison to that of the respondents.
In addition, around 36 percent respondents belonging to various
Scheduled Castes possessed social power less/equal to that of
their fathers.

Table 4.4: Respondents' job-designation and variation of social power of them and their fathers.

Respondents' job designation.	Variation of social power			Total
	Less than father	Equal	More than father	
1. Sweeper (IV)	4(57.1)	-	3(42.9)	7(100.0)
2. Non-sweeper (IV)	8(24.3)	11(33.3)	14(42.4)	33(100.0)
3. Lower Division Clerk	4(10.0)	8(20.0)	28(70.0)	40(100.0)
4. Upper Division Clerk	10(10.3)	26(26.8)	61(62.9)	97(100.0)
5. Lower Technical staff	3(15.8)	2(10.5)	14(73.7)	19(100.0)
6. Supervisory staff	2(6.3)	5(15.6)	25(78.1)	32(100.0)
7. Officer (II)	1(12.5)	-	7(87.5)	8(100.0)
8. Officer (I)	1(25.0)	-	3(75.0)	4(100.0)
Total	33	52	155	240

Again, the respondents possessing less and equal (6 and 9 respectively) social power in comparison to their fathers were related to families of medium socio-economic status. Similar was the case with the respondents coming from families of low socio-economic status also. That is, there were 27 and 43 respondents of this background who possessed

less and equal social power in comparison to their fathers.
All the 4 respondents holding social power more than that of
their fathers belonged to families of high socio-economic
status. Finally, the respondents (13.7%) possessing 'less'
social power than that of their fathers came from all the age-
groups. Similar was the case with 21.6 percent subjects also
who held social power equal to the power of their fathers.
Most of the respondents possessing such social power had
completed 15 years of service in the same department and in
their case their job-seniority was positively related to their
possession of social power. Variation of social power of the
respondents and that of their fathers, from the points of
view of the residential background, can be seen in Table 4.17
in Appendix -A. Thus, in case of possession of social power
also most of the respondents were upwardly mobile.

Social Mobility: A Multi-dimensional Framework:

In the previous section we have discussed social back-
ground of the respondents and their fathers. We have also seen
variations of their background in a multi-dimensional frame-
work. In this section, we shall measure the amount and dire-
ctions of social mobility among the respondents within the
frame of the aforesaid dimensions. We shall rely upon the
variables, namely age, caste, rural-urban background and
socio-economic status of family of the respondents, and their

designation and seniority in the present jobs. It is our
impression that the amount and directions of social mobility
among the respondents would vary according to their back-
ground treated as independent variables here.

Analysing mobility data in the multi-dimensional
framework we recorded that a vast majority of the respondents
was ahead of their fathers. There were only three such respo-
ndents who were downwardly mobile in comparison to their
fathers. It was surprisingly noted that there was not a single
case of horizontal social mobility though there were several
respondents whose mobility direction was horizontal in one
dimension or the other separately.

Amount of Social Mobility:

The amount of social mobility among the respondents
has been measured by substracting total mobility scores of
the respondents' fathers from the scores of the respondents
themselves. But before analysing the amount of social mobility
among the respondents it is proper to discuss mobility-scores
of the respondents and their fathers. The total scores of
mobility dimensions of fathers can be seen in the following
table.

Table 4.5: Respondents' job-designation and their fathers' aggregated scores of education, job, income, expenditure and social power.

Respondents' job designation	Mobility scores of father			Total
	Low (0-14)	Medium (15-29)	High (30-44)	
1. Sweeper (IV)	6	1	-	7(9.1)
2. Non-sweeper (IV)	32	1	-	33(7.4)
3. Lower Division Clerk	36	4	-	40(8.5)
4. Upper Division Clerk	92	5	-	97(7.8)
5. Lower Technical staff	18	1	-	19(7.8)
6. Supervisory staff	28	4	-	32(8.9)
7. Officer (II)	7	1	-	8(8.9)
8. Officer (I)	3	1	-	4(10.7)
Total	222	18	-	240(8.1)

Note: Average mobility scores of respondents' fathers are given in total column alongwith total number of fathers.

The average mobility score of respondents' fathers was 8.1 which was much less than the average score of the respondents (23.2) themselves. That is, if we measure mobility scores on a 100 point scale, the average score of the respondents' fathers is very low in comparison to that of the

respondents, though the average mobility score of the
respondents themselves is not very high. Taking the average
of mobility scores of fathers from the point of view of the
respondents' designation we found that fathers of the non-
sweeper (IV), upper clerical (U.D.C.) and the lower technical
(L.T.S.) staffs scored the lowest average of 7.4, 7.8 and
7.8 respectively. Similarly, fathers of officers (I) scored
the highest average (10.7) followed by fathers of sweepers
(9.1), officers (II) and supervisory staff (8.9 each group).
It was noted that fathers of the respondents who were emplo-
yed in relatively lower and lowest cadres of jobs like sweep-
ing and lower clerical works secured higher average of mobi-
lity scores (9.1 and 8.5 respectively) than the fathers of
upper clerical and lower technical staffs (7.8 each cadre).
Further, it is clear from the above table that the maximum
mobility score obtained by fathers of some respondents was
29, while there were some who secured even 0 score.

We have already mentioned that the average of mobility
scores of the respondents was much higher than the scores of
their fathers. Here, if we look at the mobility scores of
the respondents themselves, we find their small number (18)
securing low (0-14) scores. Again, the maximum mobility
scores (30-44) were obtained by 15.4 percent subjects. Lastly,
a majority of the respondents (77%) had secured scores

between 15 and 29. Further, from the average point of view, those respondents who were employed in higher jobs, obtained higher mobility scores than those who were employed in lower cadres of jobs. Such respondents belonged to supervisory (29.9), class II (31.4) and class I (37.0) officer cadres. The average mobility scores of the subjects engaged in different cadres of jobs can be seen in the following table.

Table 4.6: Respondents'job-designation and aggregated scores of their education, job, income,expenditure and social power.

Respondents' job-designation	Respondents' mobility scores			Total
	Low (0-14)	Medium (15-29)	High (30-44)	
1. Sweeper (IV)	5	2	-	7(11.3)
2. Non-sweeper (IV)	9	24	-	33(17.9)
3. Lower Division Clerk	2	37	1	40(21.6)
4. Upper Division clerk	2	87	8	97(22.9)
5. Lower Technical staff	-	17	2	19(23.6)
6. Supervisory staff	-	15	17	32(29.9)
7. Officer (II)	-	3	5	8(31.4)
8. Officer (I)	--	-	4	4(37.0)
Total	18	185	37	240(23.2)

Note: Average mobility scores are given in brackets in the Total column alongwith total number of the respondents.

The average amount* of social mobility among those respondents who were upwardly mobile was 21.0. It means upward social mobility among the respondents was not very high though there were some respondents (12) whose individual social mobility score was even more than 30. Further, it is proper at this stage, to analyse social mobility among the respondents according to their social background. The amount of social mobility among the respondents varies in accordance with their employment in different cadres of jobs. For example, the average amount of social mobility among the respondents engaged in sweeping work was much less (12.4) than that of officer (II & I) respondents (33.3 in each cadre). Such variation was observed in case of average amount (14.5) of social mobility even among non-sweeper (IV) employees.

Again, variance was statistically significant also as the probability of occurrence of variation in the amount of mobility was high (x^2=146.6 at 14 df. with P $\angle$ .001 level of significance). But the amount of social mobility among all respondents was not linealy correlated with their job-designation as the value of co-efficient of contingencies

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* The average amount of upward social mobility has been calculated as: $M = \sum \frac{X}{N}$ where, X = Total sum of respondents mobility scores after substracting the mobility scores of their fathers from the respondents themselves; N=Total number of upwardly mobile respondent, and M=average mobility of upwardly mobile respondents.

(C = .618) was insignificant. It means the categories of both the variables - designation and amount of mobility were causally related but the variance was insignificant. This can be seen in the following table.

Table 4.7: Job-designation of the respondents and amount of their social mobility.

Job-designation	Mobility-Amount			Total[*]
	Low (0-14)	Medium (15-29)	High (30-44)	
1. Sweeper (IV)	3	3	-	6(12.4)
2. Non-sweeper (IV)	16	16	-	32(14.5)
3. Lower Division clerk	7	31	2	40(20.1)
4. Upper Division Clerk.	4	88	4	96(22.0)
5. Lower Technical staff	2	17	-	19(20.4)
6. Supervisory staff	2	13	17	32(29.0)
7. Officer (II)	-	2	6	8(33.3)
8. Officer (I)	-	1	3	4(33.3)
Total	34	171	32	237[**](21.3)

$$x^2 = 146.6 , \text{ df. } = 14, \text{ P.} < .001, \text{ C}[***] = .618$$

* Average amount of social mobility has been given in total column alongwith total number of the respondents.

** All the three respondents whose direction of social mobility was downward have not been included in tables relating to amount of mobility.

*** C denotes co-efficient of contingencies and has been calculated according to formula[9]: $C = \sqrt{\dfrac{X^2}{X^2+N}}$

9. Mueller, John H. & Karl F. Schuessler · Statistical Reasoning in Sociology. New Delhi:Oxford & IBH Publishing Co., 1961, p.264.

We have seen in the previous chapter that different castes acquire social changes in varying degrees. We have also mentioned that the Scheduled Castes, in general, are in the lowest rung in this sphere which has been proved empirically through various censuses and reports of the Government of India. A few studies[10] also have observed different levels of changes among various Scheduled Castes. In our study also we found different amounts of social mobility among the respondents belonging to various Scheduled Castes.

The average amount of upward social mobility was the highest (25.7) among the respondents belonging to the Khatik caste. The Chamar respondents stood third by securing an average amount of 22.6 of mobility. Kori and Pasi respondents secured 19.8 and 20.5 average amount respectively. Similarly, the respondents belonging to Dhobi and Balmiki castes obtained subsequently lowest average amount (19.3 and 17.5) of social mobility. Finally, 12 respondents who came from the castes listed under the 'other castes' category secured an average amount of 23.3 of upward social mobility. Almost same was the

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10. Alexander, K.C. Social Mobility in Kerala. Poona:
    Decan College - Postgraduate and Research Institute,
    1968; S. Patwardhan -Change among India's Harijans.
    New Delhi: Orient Longman Ltd., 1973; K.D. Gangrade
    "Social Mobility in India: A Study of Depressed Class",
    Man in India, Vol. 55, No.3, (July-Sept.) 1975, p. 267.

the number of respondents belonging to Chamar (8) Khatik, Pasi and other castes (one each) who obtained individual mobility amount between 30 and 39.

Thus, it is clear from the simple interpretation of data given in Table 4.18 in Appendix- A that the amount of social mobility among the respondents is, to some extent, related to their caste background. But such relation is insignificant statistically as the probability of influence of respondents' caste background over the amount of their social mobility is very low ($P > .05$). There are more than five out of one hundred chances in which the amount of mobility is not actually related to the caste background of the respondents. Further, the extent of such impact of caste over the amount of mobility is also insignificant as the value of co-efficient of contingencies (C = .258) is not very high. Hence, the reason for low average of amount of mobility among the Balmiki and Dhobi respondents may be given in terms of their less education and lower level of employment. This is obvious as members of these castes have generally been employed in caste occupations and lagging behind in achieving higher education.

A person becomes socially immobile at the age of 50 years and above because by that time he would have utilised all resources for the betterment of his status.

Mukherjee[11] and others[12] have given a term 'perfect' mobility
for such social mobility. But in view of others[13] a perfect
social mobility is not possible even in old age because there
is no limit to aspirations and expectations of a person.
Generally, such aspirations and expectations are not ful-
filled even in old age. Therefore, the supporters of this
view have used a concept of 'quasi-perfect'[14] mobility for
such social mobility. But such an analysis of social mobility
is fully true in case of intra-generational social mobility,
especially occupational mobility only. An upward inter-
generational social mobility is possible even in earlier
years of the son's age because in a multi-dimensional frame-
work the son might have received more education, employment
and income, etc. than that of his father.

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11 Mukherjee, Ramkrishna   "A Study of Social Mobility
    between Three Generations" in Social Mobility in Britain-
    D.V. Glass (ed.). London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd.,
    1967, pp. 266-287.

12 Glass D.V. & J.R. Hall "Social Mobility in Great
    Britain: A Study of Inter-Generation Changes in Status"
    in Social Mobility in Britain- D.V. Glass (ed.),
    pp. 177-217.

13 Glass, D.V. & J.R. Hall   Ibid.

14 Goodman, Leo A.   "On the Statistical Analysis of
    Mobility Tables",   The American Journal of Sociology,
    Vol. LXX, No.5, (March) 1965, pp.564-585.   Goodman
    has actually used this term for son's status which is
    partially inherited from the status of his father.

Since both the statements mentioned above about the relation between age and the amount of mobility are not supported by our data, we introduce here a new concept of 'total' social mobility for the type of mobility we have measured in the present study. Such mobility is total social mobility in the sense that within the multi-dimensional framework total mobility scores of the respondents are much higher than that of their fathers and the direction of social mobility is also upward.

Certain terms, used as complements of the social mobility, need some conceptual clarification here. These terms are perfect, total and complete social mobility. We have stated earlier that 'perfect' social mobility occurs when the aspirations and expectations of a person are limited. We have also mentioned that such social mobility is not easily possible because there is no end of desires of a person. But in case of the inter-generational mobility, by 'total' social mobility is meant the mobility of the composite status. That is, a total social mobility occurs when the status of a son, based on multiple-dimensions, is different from such status of his father. In our study we found that the composite status of the respondents was higher than that of their fathers. Finally, 'complete' social mobility takes place when there is change of status in an overall stratification system. In India complete social mobility will occur when there is change

in one's status in the caste-hierarchy. We have discussed complete social mobility among the respondents in detail in the next chapter.

Coming again to the amount of social mobility we find that the average amount of social mobility among the respondents has subsequently increased from the age-group of 20-24 (17.3) to the age-group of 40-44 (26.4) years. The highest average amount of social mobility (26.4) was observed in the age-group of 40-44 years. Such relationship between age and amount of social mobility has been measured through another statistical test also. The impact of age on the amount of mobility is much more significant as the value of X^2 is 40.7 and the probability (P $<$ .001) of such an impact is high. But the extent of such impact is insignificant because the value of co-efficient of contingencies (C) is .383. In other words, both the age and the amount of social mobility are positively related but the extent of their relationship is insignificant. The reason for such a state of affairs can be given in terms the seniority of the respondents and their gradual achievement of 'secular' status.

Table 4.8: Age of the respondents and amount of their
        social mobility.

Age (in years)	Mobility-Amount			Total*
	Low (0-14)	Medium (15-29)	High (30-44)	
20-24	9	20	-	29 (17.3)
25-29	12	58	3	73 (18.8)
30-34	5	57	10	72 (20.3)
35-39	4	18	7	29 (23.5)
40-44	2	13	9	24 (26.4)
>45	2	5	3	10 (23.5)
Total	34	171	32	237 (21.9)

$$x^2 = 40.7 \; , \; df. = 10, \; P < .001 \; , \; C = .383$$

* Figures in brackets indicate averages of social
  mobility.

The nature and amount of social mobility varies from
rural to urban areas. Similar is case with the rate of social
mobility also. Villages are relatively closed units of
organization with less varieties of 'secular' occupations,
less income and opportunities for consumption of luxury goods,
education and social power. Opposite is the case in cities.
Therefore, the amount of social mobility in villages, like
the amount of occupational mobility, may be less in comparison

to that in cities. But it was noted that the average amount
of social mobility among the upwardly mobile respondents
coming from villages (166) was more (22.4) than the average
amount (20.), among the respondents belonging to cities (67).
And the average amount of mobility among the subjects (4)
hailing from towns was, more or less, similar (20.0) to that
of the subjects coming from ~~villages~~ cities. Such findings can be
explained in two ways: (i) the respondents hailing from
villages and towns are, by and large, upwardly more mobile,
in comparison to their fathers, in all the five dimensions
included in the model of social mobility; (ii) they have
migrated to the city but they are still related to their
native places through their on and often visits and rights
and obligations to be performed there. So, in a strict sense,
they are neither villagers nor urban people. Again, in case
of the respondents born in cities the low average amount of
their mobility can be analysed in terms of their less
education and social power in comparison to their counter-
parts hailing from villages. This is because a majority of
them was employed before obtaining graduate or post-graduate
degrees. They also did not obtain high score in a dimension
like social power.

However, such a variation is statistically insignifi-
cant as the probability of causal effect of residential back-
ground over the amount of mobility is low at ">.05 level of

significance. It means, out of 100 probability chances there were more than 5 chances in which the effect of residential background over the amount of social mobility among the respondents occurred by chance. Similarly such an effect was found insignificant as the value of co-efficient of contingencies (C) was .151 only. Thus, the hypothesis that social mobility is causally related with the rural-urban background, is not supported by our data (See Table 4.19 in Appendix-A).

The occurrence of social mobility is related to socio-economic status of family also. Socio-economic status of the respondents' family has been measured partly through the Kuppurswamy[15] (S.E.S.) scale. It was found that a majority (78.5%) of the upwardly mobile respondents belonged to families having low socio-economic status. Similarly, there were 19.8 percent respondents whose family status was medium. There were only 4 respondents who came from the families of high socio-economic status. Further, from the point of view of mobility, Marsh[16] observed an over-representation of sons from high-status families in high rank positions. This

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15. Kuppuswamy, B. Op. Cit.

16. Marsh, Robert M. "Values, Demand, and Social Mobility" in The Dynamics of Modern Society - William J. Goode (ed.). New Delhi: Eurasia Publishing House (P) Ltd., 1975, pp. 98-107.

is supported by Goode's[17] earlier study also. In our sample also we observed that the average amount of social mobility was the highest (33.2) among all the four respondents who came from the high status families. The individual mobility amount of three of such respondents was between 30 and 44. Again, individual amount of one such respondent was medium (15-29).

Further, the average amount of social mobility among th the respondents coming from low and medium status families was 21.5 and 21.0. All the respondents belonging to such background (24 and 10 respectively) scored individual mobility amount upto 14 which was very low. There were 22 and 7 respondents coming from low and medium status families who obtained more than 30 score in individual mobility. In addition, the impact of family-status on the amount of mobility was found significant. Through another test of significance also the impact of family status of the respondents on the amount of their mobility (at $< .01$ probability level with 4 df. and $x^2 = 16.5$) was significant though the value of co-efficient of contingencies was not very high (C = .254). It means the extent of relationship between socio-economic status of family

17.   Goode, William J.   "Family and Mobility" in Class, Status and Power - Reinhard Bendix & S.M. Lipset (eds.), pp.582-601.

and the amount of social mobility among the respondents was
not high.

Table 1.9: Socio-economic status of respondents' family
and amount of their social mobility.

Family's socio-economic status	Mobility-amount			Total
	Low (0-14)	Medium (15-29)	High (30-44)	
Low	24	140	22	186 (21.3)
Medium	10	30	7	47 (21.0)
High	--	1	3	4 (33.2)
Total	34	171	32	237 (21.9)

$$x^2 = 16.5, \quad df. = 4, \quad P < .01, \quad C = .254$$

Finally, it was assumed that the amount of social
mobility among the respondents was influenced by their
seniority in the present jobs. Such an assumption was
empirically verified by Marsh[18] also in his study of social
mobility among U.S. engineers and Chinese Government offici-
als. Marsh found sons from high-status families, in all
seniority sub-samples, over represented, with slight varia-
tions, in high-rank positions among both U.S. engineers and
Chinese officials.

18. Op. cit.

In our sample also the impact of job-seniority on the amount of social mobility was found favourable as has been mentioned earlier. The average amount of social mobility was less (19.9) among those respondents who were comparatively new ($\leq$ 5 years of duration) in their present jobs. Further, the average amount of social mobility was observed subsequently greater among those respondents who had completed 6 to 25 and more years of service in their respective jobs. It was noted that such an amount of mobility was less (22.0) in case of those respondents (7) who had completed their service upto 21-25 years than that of those (24) who were in the seniority category of 16-20 years. The reason for such a decrease may be given in terms of less number of respondents and their lower mobility scores in these categories. Then, there were only 3 and 2 subjects in this group whose amount of individual mobility was between 15 and 29 and 30-44 respectively (See Table 4.20 in the Appendix - A). But the effect of job-seniority over the amount of mobility was statistically significant as the probability of such an effect was high at $<$ .05 level of significance (x^2 = 25.0 with 10 df.). However, the extent of such an effect was insignificant as the value of co-efficient of contingencies was only .279. That is, the extent of relationship between job-seniority and the amount of mobility was not high.

Direction of Social Mobility:

In a general way, the direction of social mobility can be analysed in terms of horizontal and vertical sides. Social mobility expands in the horizontal direction in cases where there is mobility among sons on the line of mobility of their fathers. Further, horizontal mobility also occurs among persons who shift from one position to other similar position. Similarly, social mobility in the vertical direction takes place among those sons who move to a position different from the position of their fathers. Or, such a mobility can occur among the persons who advance to and adopt a social position different from their previous social position. Vertical mobility is, further, divided into upward (higher than that of father or of son himself) and downward (lower than that of father or of son himself).

Several authors have explained the direction of social mobility within the broader framework of horizontal and vertical mobility. But they differ in the methods of analysis and categorisation. Natalie Ramsoy[19], for example, measured the direction of mobility in the form of upward, downward and stable (horizontal). Again, Tumin[20] has mentioned four types

19. Ramsoy, Natalie Rogoff   "On the Flow of Talent in Society", Acta Sociologica (issue on Social Stratification and Mobility), Vol. 9, FASC (Nos.) 1-2, 1965, pp.152-174.
20. Tumin, Melvin M. & Ray C. Collins Jr.   "Status, Mobility and Anomie : A Study in Readiness for Disegregation", British Journal of Sociology, Vol. 10, No.3, (Sept.) 1959, pp. 253-267.

of mobile persons, and these types represent four directions
of social mobility taking place among them. These types are:
1) high stationaries (high status of sons of high status
fathers) - horizontal ; 2) upward mobiles (high status sons
of low status fathers) ; 3) downward mobiles (low status
sons of high status fathers); and 4) low stationaries (low
status sons of low status fathers) - horizontal. In our
study also we propose an eleven point index of the direction
of social mobility. The index can be put in the following
form.

<u>Dimensions of Social Mobility</u>

	Education	Job	Income	Expenditure	Social power	
	+	+	+	+	+	5.Most upward
	+	+	+	+	−	4.More upward
	+	+	+	−	−	3.Much upward
	+	+	−	−	−	2.Less upward
	+	−	−	−	−	1.Little upward
	=	=	=	=	=	0.Horizontal
	−	+	+	+	+	1.Little downward
	−	−	+	+	+	2.Less downward
	−	−	−	+	+	3.Much downward
	−	−	−	−	+	4.More downward
	−	−	−	−	−	5.Most downward

Directions of inter-generational Social Mobility.

Diagram: Showing directions of Social Mobility.

In the above matrix + represents more, - less, and = similar positions of the respondents in comparison to that of their fathers in all the five dimensions of mobility adopted in the present study. Plus and minus symbols have been put in different cells in both the upward and downward sides not with any specific purpose but for the sake of convenience. These symbols can be put in any order in all cells of both the sides separately but there will not be any difference in the degrees of directions of social mobility. In the multi-dimensional framework of social mobility if son's education, job, income, expenditure and social power are more than that of his father, there is most (total) upward social mobility. Further, if a son is below in all aspects of mobility in comparison to his father, he is most downwardly mobile. Again, in case of his being equal to his father in all the five dimensions, he is horizontally mobile. Finally, the degree of the direction of social mobility varies in upward or downward side in case of the respondent's position being up or down in one aspect or the other in comparison to his father.

In our sample we could not measure the direction of social mobility in continuous degrees of upward and downward mobility, mentioned in the matrix because almost all the respondents, except three, were upwardly and only three

downwardly mobile. There was not a single respondent whose direction of social mobility was horizontal as stated earlier. Taking the dimensional framework of mobility we found some variation in the number of the respondents mobile in one dimension or the other. But such a variation was absent in case of total social mobility occurring among the respondents. In other words, all the upwardly mobile respondents secured higher total mobility scores than that of their fathers.

Now, at this stage, when we analyse our data about the direction of social mobility among the respondents from the point of view of their social background, we find no causal relationship between their social background and the direction of social mobility. The upward social mobility occurred among 98.7 percent respondents irrespective of variation in their social background. For example, there was no causal relationship between the designation of the respondents and the direction of their social mobility. This was statistically insignificant also as the probability of no effect of designation on the direction of mobility was more than .50 ($P \gg .50$) which means 50 percent cases of effect were by chance. Further, co-efficient of contingencies also was insignificant ($C = .210$). However, all the three respondents who were downwardly mobile belonged to Balmiki, Chamar and Kori castes and were employed in sweeper, non-sweeper (IV) and

upper division clerk (III) cadres of services. For the causal relationship between the direction of social mobility among the respondents and their social background see Tables 4.21 to 4.25 in Appendix - A.

Table 4.10: Job-designation of the respondents and the direction of their social mobility.

Job-designation	Mobility-direction			Total
	Downward	Horizontal	Upward	
1. Sweeper (IV)	1	-	6	7
2. Non-sweeper (IV)	1	-	32	33
3. Lower Division Clerk.	-	-	40	40
4. Upper Division Clerk.	1	-	96	97
5. Lower Technical staff	-	-	19	19
6. Supervisory staff	-	-	32	32
7. Officer (II)	-	-	8	8
8. Officer (I)	-	-	4	4
Total	3	-	237	240

$$x^2 = 12.2, \quad df. = 14, \quad P > .50, \quad C = .210$$

Thus, it is clear from the above descriptions and explanations that a majority of the respondents obtained

CHAPTER V

SOCIAL STATUS: A HIERARCHICAL DOMAIN

In the previous chapter we discussed the amount and
direction of social mobility among the respondents. We also
discussed the concept of total social mobility within a multi-
dimensional frame. We mentioned that social mobility among
the respondents is a total social mobility because almost all
the respondents are upwardly mobile and the amount of their
mobility is higher than that of their fathers. But such an
analysis of social mobility is not a complete one inspite of
its multi-dimensionality because the mobility measured
through the dimensions of education, job, income, expenditure
and social power is a mobility within the class framework.
It does not apparently emphasize the mobility of a person in
the caste-hierarchy.

Further, from the methodological point of view also,
a study of social mobility in India would be quite different
from such studies in Western societies. As against a study
of mobility in western societies on the basis of secular
criteria like education, job, income,etc. a study of mobility
in India should include the major framework of caste system.
But according to Bhatt[1], most of the studies (except one

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1. Bhatt, Anil "Politics and Social Mobility in India",
   Contributions to Indian Sociology (N.S.), No.5, (Dec.)
   1971, pp. 99-115.

edited by James Silverberg[2]) on social mobility in India"
"--- have undermined the importance of ascriptive ritual
status as a criterion of mobility by emphasizing "achievable"
aspects of status such as education and occupation ---."
Thus, a comprehensive study of social mobility in the caste
system in India is possible only if we consider the effects
of all sorts of changes in social, economic, religious and
political spheres over the caste system.

No society in the world is stratified only on the
basis of one single criterion. There are several sub-hiera-
rchies within the frame of a single universal hierarchy
which dominates over the others. In Western societies, it
is class-hierarchy which is the most common order there.
The entire population in such societies is divided into
upper, middle and lower classes though other hierarchies of
occupation, income, etc. are included in the hierarchy of
class. Contrary to it, in India, we have the hierarchy of
caste system which,at one time,had its strong grip over the
entire Hindu population. Now, in the changed situation
social system in India is becoming more complex as a result

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2. Silverberg, James (ed.) Social Mobility in the Caste
   System in India : An Inter-disciplinary Symposium -
   Comparative Studies in Society and History Supplement III.
   The Hauge : Mouton Publishers, 1968.

of which the status-evaluation of a person or of a group has become a little difficult. Other hierarchies, like economic and political power, also play their significant role in the determination of status. But it does not mean that the hierarchy of caste system is eliminated. It has only loosened its hold over the people.

Several authors have talked about a multiple status hierarchy. Hazlehurst[3], for instance, in his study of kinship and territorial status hierarchies in a northern Indian city of Ram Nagar (Haryana State) has discussed relationship between the hierarchies of caste, kinship and territory and defined it as diverse "positional view-points". According to the author, the status of a person varies in accordance with his endogamous or hypergamous territories and his kinship affinity. This is true but sub-status hierarchies are regarded as sub-hierarchies within the frame-work of a wider hierarchy of caste system. Berreman[4], Karve[5] and Marriott[6] also found more or less similar results about

3. Hazlehurst, Leighton W. "Multiple Status Hierarchies in Northern India", Contributions to Indian Sociology (NS), NO.II, (Dec.) 1968, pp.38-57.

4. Berreman, Gerald D. - Hindus of the Himalayas. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963.

5. Karve, Irawati   Kinship Organization in India (Second Edition). Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1965.

6. Marriott, McKim   "Little Communites in an Indigenous Civilization" in his Village India (ed.). Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955, pp. 175-227.

status hierarchies in their respective studies in various regions.'

Further, the most common trend of analysing multiple status-hierarchy is related to the study of relationship between caste and class hierarchies. In 1957 Ghurye[7], one of the earlier authorities on the Indian caste system, mentioned the formation and functions of several classes like merchants, traders, etc. in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries but he missed his focus on the relationship between various castes and classes. The relationship between caste and class hierarchies has been discussed by several authors in different empirical situations also. Beteille[8], for instance, has found a dynamic relationship between both the hierarchies in the present time. In his own words, "In the traditional system caste and class overlapped to a very large extent. There is even today a considerable measure of overlap between the two systems. But the class system has gradually been dissociating itself from the caste structure. One can achieve a variety of class positions with different degrees of probability, whatever one's position in the caste structure

7. Ghurye, G.S. Caste, Class and Occupation. Bombay: Popular Book Depot., 1961, Especially, last two chapters can be seen.
8. Beteille, Andre Caste, class and Power: Changing Patterns of Stratification in a Tanjore Village. Bombay: Oxford University Press, 1966, p. 199.

may be." But Beteille also has overlooked the picture on the reverse side, i.e. he does not bother about the effect of changes in the class positions over the position in caste structure.

Another study[9] , conducted on an urban sample also has noted the formation of classes from castes in terms of discarding the caste callings and adopting secular occupations. But such a class formation exists in each caste separately. Thus, the classes in the forms of upper, middle and lower in a particular caste do not freely correspond with such classes existing in the other castes.

A most recent study about the relationship between caste and socio-economic (class) hierarchies has been conducted by Bhatt[10] who, for instance, tries to establish a correlation between caste hierarchy and the socio-economic (class) hierarchy. Bhatt observed a positive linear correlation between these two hierarchies along with political hierarchy in traditional India (which can be seen in the following diagram) but he himself has accepted that the relationship between caste and class has been complex and overlapping in

9. Chhibbar, Y.P. From Caste to Class : A Study of the Indian Middle Classes. New Delhi: Associated Publishing House, 1968.

10. Bhatt, Anil Caste, Class and Politics: An Empirical Profile of Social Stratification in Modern India. New Delhi: Manohar Book Service, 1975 (especially chapter 2).

the modern times. Thus, he has measured empirically the diversification of relationship between caste hierarchy and socio-economic hierarchy, but he also has overlooked the reverse relationship between these hierarchies. In other words, he has neither examined the impact of socio-economic (class) hierarchy on the caste hierarchy, nor the congruity between socio-economic status of a person and his status in the caste hierarchy.

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┌─────────────┐                    ┌─────────────┐
│   Caste     │                    │   Class     │
├─────────────┤                    ├─────────────┤
│   High      │ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─▶ ─   │   High      │
├─────────────┤                    ├─────────────┤
│   Middle    │ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─▶ ─   │   Middle    │
├─────────────┤                    ├─────────────┤
│   Low       │ ─────────────▶     │   Low       │
└─────────────┘                    └─────────────┘
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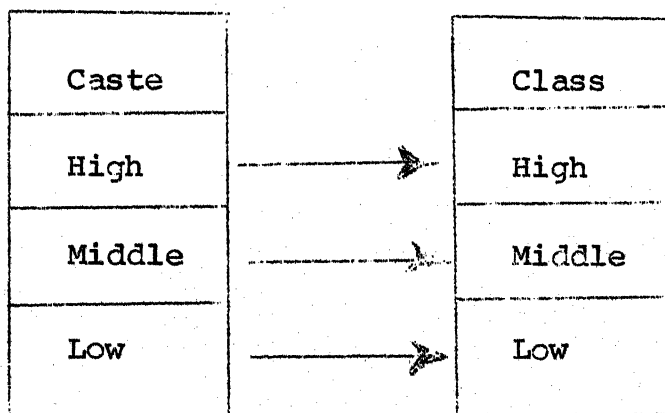
Diagram: 1 : Showing congruent relationship
            between caste and class hierarchies.

Besides, we have several references[11] about various efforts made by those people who claimed (and succeeded also) in achieving higher status in the caste hierarchy after

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11. For instance, F.G. Bailey's Caste and Economic Frontier.
     London: Oxford University Press, 1958; Imtiaz Ahmed
     "Caste Mobility Movements in North India", The Indian
     Economic and Social History Review, Vol. VIII, 1971,
     pp. 164-191.

improving their status in the class-hierarchy. But such references do not present a quantitative measurement of the extent to which the socio-economic (class) status of a person affects his status in the caste hierarchy. In this chapter, we shall make an effort to measure quantitatively the extent to which the class status of the respondents affects their status in the caste hierarchy. In other words, we shall examine here a congruity between the class and caste statuses of the respondents. We shall also measure the effect of their status incongruity, if any, on their status-anxiety or relative deprivation.

Such an inquiry is important from two major view-points; one, the constitutional measures under the "protective discrimination policy" provide an opportunity for the Scheduled Castes to improve their status in the class hierarchy but they do not guarantee an improvement of their status in the caste hierarchy. Hence, there is a built-in or implied expectation in the constitutional measures that after improving their class status the Scheduled Caste people will obviously assimilate themselves with people of the other castes. In such a situation it is interesting to note the improvement in their status in class and caste hierarchies. Secondly, the Scheduled Castes have been traditionally deprived of a previleged status in the caste hierarchy. After improving their socio-economic

conditions they may not be satisfied with their improved status in the class hierarchy. There may be a strong urge among them for achieving a better status in the caste hierarchy. Therefore, it is significant to examine whether they have succeeded in acquiring a better status in the caste hierarchy. If the answer is negative, then to what extent it leads the scheduled caste people to their position in the "status-summation scheme"[12] in the Indian social system.

Status in the Class-Hierarchy:

In the present study we have followed an explanation of the term class in which a class has been accepted as a social-class - a relatively permanent group, consisting of persons "who consider themselves more or less to be social equals. Each social class has its own style of life and is as such group-conscious, though its boundaries are difficult to indicate"[13] In addition, it denotes a stratum of society which is composed of those individuals who qualify for intimate

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12. By status summation scheme is meant a scheme of congruence among various positions which " are dependent upon and entailed by the ascriptive caste position", Anil Bhatt, 1975, p.3.

13. Heek, F. van "Some Introductory Remarks on Social Mobility and Class Structure" in Transactions of the Third World Congress of Sociology, Vol. III. London: International Sociological Association, 1956, pp.129-143.

association.[14]

Methodologically, we have measured class-status of
the respondents on the basis of both the objective and subjective
criteria. Objectively, we measured class status (socio-
economic status) of the respondents on the basis of their
educational, job and income positions partly through the
Kuppuswamy (S.E.S.) scale[15]. Again, we enquired about their
class status evaluated by themselves through their subjective
perception and such perception of their acquaintances. Then,
we compared their statuses in the class hierarchy to find out
congruity between them.

In the perception of their own class status a majority
of the respondents (77%) placed themselves in the middle class,
and the rest considered themselves in the lower (17.5%) and
upper (5.4%) classes. It was hypothesized that higher the
jobs in which the respondents were employed, the higher (upper)
was the class with which they affiliated themselves. If we
look at Table 5.1 , it is clear that almostall the respondents
employed in sweeper, non-sweeper (IV) and lower clerical cadres
belonged to the middle class. Similarly, a sizable number of

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14. Lipset, S.M. & Hans L. Zetterberg " A Theory of Social
    Mobility" in Transactions of the Third World Congress
    of Sociology, pp. 155-177.
15. Kuppuswamy, B. Manual of Socio-economic Status Scale
    (Urban). New Delhi: Manasayan, 1962. The details of his
    scale have been given in Chapter 2.

the respondents belonging to the upper clerical, lower technical and supervisory (III) cadres of jobs placed themselves in this class. And, out of 8 (class II) officer respondents 7 belonged to middle and only 1 to upper classes. Reverse was the order in case of self-perception of status of class I officer respondents, i.e. 75 percent class I officers perceived their status as the upper class. Further, the probability of effect of jobs over their perceived class status was very high ($P < .001$) and the extent of such an effect was also high ($C = .430$). Thus, the hypothesis about the positive relationship between jobs and class status of the respondents stands proved.

Table 5.1: Job-designation of respondents and self-perception of their status in the class-hierarchy.

Job-cadres	Self-perceived status			Total
	Lower	Middle	Upper	
1. Sweeper (IV)	4	3	-	7
2. Non-sweeper (IV)	10	22	1	33
3. Lower Division Clerk	6	33	1	40
4. Upper Division clerk	16	77	4	97
5. Lower Technical staff	2	16	1	19
6. Supervisory staff	4	26	2	32
7. Officer (II)	-	7	1	8
8. Officer (I)	-	1	3	4
Total	42	185	13	240

$x^2 = 54.5$, df. $= 14$, $P < .001$, $C = .430$

The self evaluated class status of the respondents was examined from the points of view of their age, and seniority in the present job also. It was assumed that the aged respondents having served more than 10 years in their respective jobs would be more conscious of their status. They would be evaluating their status high in the class hierarchy than those who were younger and relatively new in their jobs. But it was found that in both the cases, age and seniority in jobs were not related to the self-perception of their status in the class hierarchy. The probability of effect of age and job-seniority over their status evaluation was low at $>.05$ level (with x^2 value of 8.1 and 13.3 respectively at 10 df.). Similar was the case with the extent of relationship of age and job-seniority with perception of status also as the value of co-efficient of contingencies was very low (C = .081 and .228 respectively). The causal relationship between age and job-seniority and self-perception of class status of the respondents can be seen in Tables 5.2 and 5.3 in Appendix -B.

We have seen in diagram -1 that there was a linear correlation between caste and class hierarchies. In the changed situation Bhatt[16] observed a little shift in such a relationship particularly an upward shift in the class positions of other castes but in case of the Scheduled Castes it remained

t
16. Bhatt, Anil 1975, Op. cit., p.169.

the same. In the present study we do not have comparative

data to examine the relative status of the Scheduled Castes

in the class-hierarchy. However, our data present a different

picture of class status of these castes. Only in case of 17.5

per cent respondents belonging to various Scheduled Castes

the linear (horizontal) relationship between their tradition-

al class status and class status perceived by them was found.

And in case of a large majority of the respondents a diagonal

relationship was observed between their self-perceived class

status and a class status accorded to them. That is, 77.0

percent and 5.5 percent respondents perceived their status

as middle and high classes respectively.

Further, from the point of view of caste affiliation,

a majority of the respondents of each caste perceived their

class status as middle. Therefore, the caste background of

the respondents did not have a bearing over their perception

of class status. The probability of causal relationship

between these two variables was low at .05 level of signi-

ficance (x^2 = 15.3 at 12 df.). Similarly, the extent of such

relationship also was very low (C = .244 see Table 5.1 in

Appendix - B). However, our finding of the middle class

status of a majority of the respondents has one to one corres-

pondence with the suggestive conclusion drawn by Harper[17] in

17. Harper, Edward B. "Social Consequences of an "Unsuccessful"
    Low Caste Movement" in Social Mobility in the Caste System
    in India - James Silverberg (ed.), pp. 36-65.

his study of the Holeru untouchable caste in Karnatak State. The perception of our respondents about their class status can be seen in the following diagram.

Caste   Class

Caste	Class
High	High (5.5%)
Middle	Middle (77.0%)
Low (Scheduled castes)	Low (17.5%)
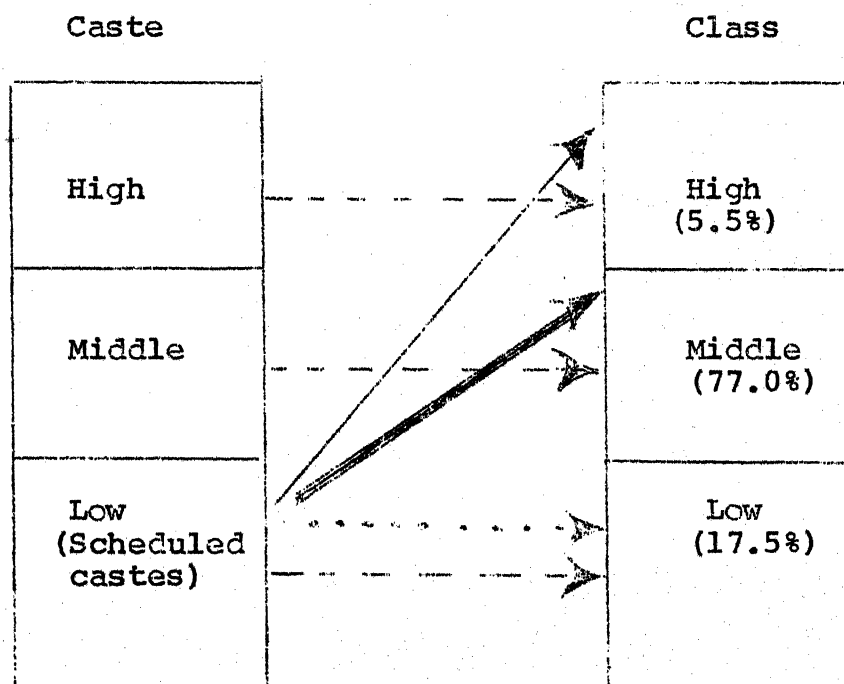
Diagram: 2: Showing incongruent status in the
caste and class hierarchies.

    In the diagram the dark-lined arrows indicate the status of the respondents belonging to various Scheduled Castes in the changed situation. The line with points and arrow also shows their status in the changed situation. Similarly, the dotted lined arrows represent a traditional (horizontal) relationship between caste and class hierarchies. Since our study is based on data from the Scheduled Caste employees,

we found a diagonal relationship between the traditional class status of a majority of the respondents and their class status perceived by them. But in case of 17.5 percent respondents there was a horizontal relationship between their accorded and perceived class statuses even in the changed situation. Thus, when we compare low class status of the Scheduled Castes in the traditional hierarchy with their status in the present time, there is a shift in their class status. This is apparent from the status of the respondents in the class hierarchy, though such a generalization cannot be adopted in a broader framework pertaining to masses of the Scheduled Castes.

Now, if we examine self-perceived status of the respondents in the class hierarchy from the points of view of their residence, and socio-economic status of family, we find that a majority of the respondents belonging to villages, towns and cities placed themselves in the middle class. Out of 69.6 percent respondents coming from villages around 76 percent (127) perceived their middle class status while 18.6 percent evaluated themselves as lower. There were only 3.6 percent (9) respondents of such background who placed themselves in the upper class. All the 4 respondents coming from towns were in the middle class. Similarly, out of 28.7 percent (69) interviewees who belonged to various cities and district towns

(small cities) 78.3 percent placed themselves in the middle, 15.9 percent in lower and only 5.8 percent in the upper classes. Thus, there was no causal relationship between residential background of the respondents and their class status perceived by them (see Table 5.4 in Appendix - B). Besides, a large majority of the respondents (145) coming from the families of low socio-economic status perceived their status in the middle class. Similar was the case with the respondents belonging to the families of medium and high socio-economic status. Thus, it is clear from data presented in Table 5.5 in Appendix-B that there is no causal relationship between the socio-economic status of family and class status of the respondents perceived by them.

At this stage, the status of the respondents perceived by them in the class hierarchy was cross checked. We tried to know the discrepancy, if any, between their statuses perceived by themselves, and by their acquaintances in the class-hierarchy. The status of a person in the class hierarchy is based on, beside one's own assessment, the likings and dislikings of one's acquaintances. In addition, one's acquaintances perceive one's status on the basis of one's family background, educational qualification, behaviour, job skills, possession of material goods, etc.

Methodologically, the knowledge of such a perception

of status by the acquaintances is more tedious and time-consuming affair. Moreover, due to methodological limitations of the present study we concentrated upon the views of the respondents about their class status perceived by their acquaintances. No doubt, the acquaintances might have belonged to different age-groups, caste and socio-economic status, their perception of such statuses of the respondents would have also been diversified. Therefore, when the respondents were asked to express the nature of their class status perceived by their acquaintances, they were briefed about all the complexities, mentioned above.

In such a perception of class status also a majority (69.2%) of the respondents placed themselves in the middle class. There were 10 percent and 20.8 percent respondents who recorded their status perceived by their acquaintances in lower and upper classes respectively. The differences occurred in all the three categories of class status perceived by the respondents themselves and their acquaintances. Such differences were significant, from the points of view of perception of acquaintances, according to the designation and seniority, age, caste, residential background and socio-economic status of families of the respondents. There were individual variations in class statuses of the respondents perceived by their acquaintances but in almost all the cases, causal

relationship between designation, seniority, age, caste, residence and socio-economic status of family and class status perceived by acquaintances were insignificant. Similar was the case with the extent of such relationships also. The causal relationship between job-designation and age of the respondents and their class status perceived by their acquaintances can be seen in the following tables (For the causal relationship between job-seniority, caste, residence and socio-economic status of family and class status perceived by acquaintances see tables from 5.6 to 5.9 in Appendix-B.).

Table 5.2 : Respondents' cadres in jobs and their class status perceived by their acquaintances.

Job cadres	Class status perceived by acquaintances			Total
	Lower	Middle	Upper	
1. Sweeper (IV)	2	4	1	7
2. Non-sweeper (IV)	4	21	8	33
3. Lower Division clerk.	3	27	10	40
4. Upper Division clerk.	10	68	19	97
5. Lower Technical staff.	1	14	4	19
6. Supervisory staff	4	22	6	32
7. Officer (II)	–	7	1	8
8. Officer (I)	–	3	1	4
Total	24	166	50	240

$$x^2 = 6.5 \quad , \quad df. = 14, \quad P > .05, \quad C = .161$$

Table 5.3: Respondents' age and their class status perceived by their acquaintances.

Age (in years)	Class status perceived by acquaintances			Total
	Lower	Middle	Upper	
20-24	2	22	7	31
25-29	11	47	15	73
30-34	8	54	10	72
35-39	–	24	5	29
40-44	2	15	8	25
⩾45	1	4	5	10
Total	24	166	50	240

$$x^2 = 15.4 \ , \ df. = 10 \ , \quad P > .05 \ , \quad C = .245$$

The class status of the respondents perceived by themselves and their acquaintances was re-examined through the socio-economic status (S.E.S.) of the former for checking their subjective bias. On S.E.S. scale also a large number (199) of the respondents belonged to middle class. There were only 23 and 18 respondents employed in different cadres of jobs who belonged to the lower and upper classes respectively. It is clear from Table 5.4 that a majority of the respondents belonging to the non-sweeper (IV), technical, clerical and

supervisory (III) cadres of jobs have reached the middle class status. Similarly, the respondents employed in the two extreme poles of job cadres (sweepers and administrative officers) have acquired the two opposite class statuses also, i.e. all the sweeper and officer respondents are in the lower and upper class statuses respectively.

Table 5.4: Respondents' designation in jobs and their socio-economic (class) status.

Designation in jobs	Socio-economic status			Total
	Lower	Middle	Upper	
1. Sweeper (IV)	7	-	-	7
2. Non-sweeper (IV)	2	31	-	33
3. Lower Division Clerk.	1	38	1	40
4. Upper Division clerk.	6	89	2	97
5. Lower Technical staff.	3	16	-	19
6. Supervisory staff (III)	4	25	3	32
7. Officer (II)	-	-	8	8
8. Officer (I)	-	-	4	4
Total	23	199	18	240

Thus, it is clear from the above analysis that a majority of the Scheduled Caste respondents has acquired a middle class status. But such a middle class status may be different from the status of an actual "middle class" because a middle class in the real sense has its long historical background and a distinct culture also[18]. It is quite obvious that the middle class status of our respondents does not have that much historical background of its origin though the respondents might have adopted the culture and behaviour pattern of other castes in the "middle class" (see the last chapter).

Status in the Caste-hierarchy:

The institution of caste still dominates over the social system in India inspite of secular functional roles of other institutions like education, economy, and political participation. Therefore, the status of a person in the caste system also will have to be taken into account while measuring his social status.

There are two schools of thought regarding the determination of status of a person in the caste system. According

18. Misra, B.B. The Indian Middle Classes: Their Growth in Modern Times. London: Oxford University Press, 1961; The Urban Middle Classes - Bhagawan Prasad. New Delhi: Sterling Publishers Pvt., Ltd., 1968 may also be seen.

to one school[19], the status is attributed to a person on the
basis of his birth (besides his ritual status) in a parti-
cular caste (jati) which avails of a definite rank in the
caste system. He takes birth and dies with such a status. This
status is his 'ascribed' status. Mobility of status in this
context is not possible unless one renounces this world or
takes another birth in a different caste as we have stated
in Chapter 1. In view of the other school[20], the status of
a person (and rank of status of his caste) is determined on
the basis of his interaction with others. Such interaction
obviously is guided by the socio-economic (class) status and
power of that person. Other criteria like ritual purity,
caste callings, etc. for status determination are also subject
to change. Thus, on the basis of change in interaction with
others the status of a person (and rank of status of his
caste) in the caste system is 'achieved' and changeable.

Besides, the concepts of status and rank need a

19. Louis Dumont may be regarded as representative of this
    school (See his Homo-Hierarchicus: The Caste System
    and its Implications. New Delhi: Vikas Publications,
    1970).

20. Marriott, McKim "Interactional and attributional
    theories of caste ranking", Man in India, Vol.39, 1959,
    pp. 92-107; David G. Mandelbaum - Society in India
    (Vols. I & II). Berkeley: University of California
    Press, 1970; Gerald D. Berreman "The Brahmanical View
    of Caste", Contributions to Indian Sociology (N.S.),
    No.V, (Dec.) 1971, pp. 16-23.

little clarification here. Status is a position of a person which is accorded, and achieved by him in the caste system while rank is an order (status assigned to a caste) in which a caste is placed in the caste hierarchy. In other words, the status is 'individual' while rank is 'corporate' - the status assigned to a caste. In addition, the status is changeable while the rank (corporate status) is almost fixed, though McKim Marriott and others found change in the rank of castes, in the empirical situations, on the basis of both the ritua- lised and secular interactions among various castes.

A certain status, in the caste system, has been assigned to the respondents because of their affiliation to the Scheduled Castes. In the present section, we have not measured the corporate status (rank of caste) of the respo- ndents' castes but changes in their caste status assigned to them by others. We have accepted the second school of thought regarding status determination because the status of a person based on his birth is possible only at the 'theoretical' level. But in an empirical situation change in status of a person is possible in the caste system though such a change may not completely alter his status based on his birth in a particular caste.

For measuring changes in status of the respondents in the hierarchy of caste system we selected two major psycho-

sociological indicators. These indicators are: the respondents' perception about changes in their caste status and their interaction with people of non-scheduled castes. Other indicators, like observation of purity- pollution, temple entry, inter-caste marriage, etc. which also help in mobility in one's status in the caste-hierarchy, were completely overlooked as they did not really work with our respondents.

Regarding changes in status in the hierarchy of caste system a vast majority (87.5%) of the respondents perceived changes of one type or the other. Even most of the sweeper respondents (71.4%) observed some changes in their status in the caste-hierarchy. But there were only 12.5 per cent respondents who did not visualise any change in their status in the caste-hierarchy. Such respondents were employed in the all cadres of jobs in the sample except class I officer. There were only 5 interviewees belonging to upper clerical, supervisory and officer (I) cadres who also did not perceive any change in their caste status as they already had acquired a better status in the caste-hierarchy. Further, the the respondents, who perceived positive changes in their caste status, saw the rise in their family status (8.7%), increase in consciousness (9.1%), extent of better interaction with persons of non-scheduled castes (41.2%) and more respect in cities (16.6%). Again, there were 9.6 per cent respondents who perceived changes in their caste-status but they found

others jealous of such changes. They also observed that jealous persons were afraid of getting legal punishment for humiliating the respondents and other persons belonging to Scheduled Castes.

It was our hunch that the better the position of the respondents in job-hierarchy in the sample, the more the changes they perceived in their status in the caste-hierarchy. And we found such a hunch nullified through certain statistical measures. We noted that the causal relationship between designation of the respondents in jobs and changes in their caste status was significant at less than .01 level of significance. Similarly, the extent of such relationship also was significant as the co-efficient of contingencies was .462. Thus, the respondents who were employed in better cadres of jobs visualised changes in their caste status.

Table 5.5: Job-designation of the respondents and change in
their status in the caste-hierarchy due to change
in their status in the class-hierarchy.

Job-designation	Change in status in the caste-hierarchy							Total
	No change	Rise in family status	Increase in consciousness	Non-Sc's better behaviour	More respect in cities	Others jealous due to change in family status	Others	
1.Sweeper (IV)	2	-	1	4	-	-	-	7
2.Non-sweeper (IV)	1	5	1	21	3	1	1	33
3.Lower Division clerk	3	2	4	17	6	5	3	40
4.Upper Division clerk	9	9	5	44	19	4	7	97
5.Lower technical staff	5	3	5	2	4	-	-	19
6.Supervisory staff	11	2	6	7	4	1	1	32
7.Officer (II)	3	-	-	3	2	-	-	8
8.Officer (I)	1	-	-	1	2	-	-	4
Total	35	21	22	99	40	11	12	240

$x^2 = 70.7$, df.= 42 , P $<$ .01 , C = .462

Again, we observed that the causal relationship between age of the respondents and changes in their caste status was also significant at less than .05 level and the extent of such relationship was .402 which was highly significant. Similarly, in case of the causal relationship between caste-background of the respondents and changes in their caste-status the probability was high (P $<$ .05). Further, from the points of view of respondents' seniority in their present jobs and their residential background, there were causal relationships, i.e. seniority in jobs and residential background affected changes in caste status of the respondents (See Tables 5.10 to 5.12 in Appendix -B). Similar was the case with socio-economic status of family of the respondents and changes in their caste status also.

Table 5.6: Respondents' age and change in their status in the caste-hierarchy due to change in their status in the class-hierarchy

Age (in years)	Change in status in caste-hierarchy							Total
	No change	Rise in family status	Increase in conscious ness.	Non Sc's better behaviour	More respect in cities	Others jealous due to change in family status	Others afraid in humiliating.	
20-24	7	3	4	9	4	4	—	31
25-29	9	7	4	33	11	5	4	73
30-34	6	3	7	39	13	—	4	72
35-39	8	1	4	11	3	—	2	29
40-44	2	4	2	6	7	2	2	25
≥ 45	3	3	1	1	2	—	—	10
Total	35	21	22	99	40	11	12	240

$$x^2 = 46.7 , \quad df.=30 , \quad P < .05 , \quad C = .402$$

Table 5.7: Family's socio-economic status and change in status in the caste-hierarchy due to change in status in the class-hierarchy.

Family's socio-economic status	Change in status in caste-hierarchy							Total
	No change	Rise in family status	Increase in consciousness	Non Sc's better in behaviour	More respect in cities	Others jealous due to change in family status	Others afraid in humiliating	
Low	13	14	12	90	38	10	11	188
Medium	20	7	9	9	1	1	1	48
High	2	–	1	–	1	–	–	4
Total	35	21	22	99	40	11	12	240

$$x^2 = 65.6 , \quad df.= 12, \quad P < .001 , \quad C = .461$$

Changes in the status of the respondents in caste-hierarchy were further examined on the basis of the respondents' interaction with their non-scheduled caste acquaintances. Such an examination was based on indicators like attending ceremonies, taking meals/ refereshments, and entering kitchen of the acquaintances. We found a majority of the respondents (68.3%) attending ceremonies like Katha/Kirtan (religious recitation), birth-day, wedding and shradha (death ceremonies) held at homes of the acquaintances. Such respondents participated in some, most and all ceremonies. Same percentage of the respondents took their meals/refreshments occasionally at the homes of their acquaintances. But reverse was the order in case of Kitchen-entry as 63.3 percent respondents never entered their acquaintances' kitchens. The reason which they gave was that they did not like to enter the kitchen of any body. Further, in case of entering kitchen of the respondents by their non-scheduled caste acquaintances also 41.2 per cent acquaintances had never made such efforts. But one can go deeper into the reasons and guess a further implication of this state of affairs.

Table 5.8: Designation-wise interaction with non-scheduled caste acquaintances.

Designation	Interaction with non-scheduled caste acquaintances												Total
	Attending ceremonies				Taking meal				Kitchen entry				
	None	Some	Most	All	None	Some	Most	All	None	Some	Most	All	
1.Sweeper(IV)	3	4	-	-	5	2	-	-	7	-	-	-	7
2.Non-sweeper (IV)	9	17	1	6	14	12	1	6	19	10	-	4	33
3.L.D.C.	12	19	6	3	12	21	6	1	22	12	5	1	40
4.U.D.C.	31	49	8	9	27	53	10	7	64	19	7	7	97
5.L.T.Staff	8	7	1	3	6	10	-	3	15	2	-	2	19
6.Supervisory staff	11	11	7	3	10	13	6	3	17	8	5	2	32
7.Officer (II)	1	3	2	2	1	5	1	1	4	3	1	-	8
8.Officer (I)	1	2	-	1	1	2	-	1	4	-	-	-	4
Total	76	112	25	27	76	118	24	22	152	54	18	16	240

df.=21, $x^2=20.2$, $P > .05$, $C=.279$. $x^2=23.6$, $P > .05$, $C = .298$ $x^2=28.4$, $P > .05$, $C = .325$

However, almost all sorts of interaction between
the respondents and their acquaintances took place irrespe-
ctive of age, caste, designation and seniority in job, and
residential background of the former. Only in case of taking
occasional meals/refreshments, the age of the respondents was
causally related as the probability was high at $<$.05 level.
(See Tables 5.13 to 5.16 in Appendix -B). Similarly, there
was a causal relationship between socio-economic status of
the respondents' family and their interaction with their
non-scheduled caste acquaintances. There were high probabi-
lities of effects of the socio-economic status of family
over their interaction with acquaintances in terms of
attending ceremonies, taking meals/refreshments, and entering
kitchen at $<$.001, $<$.05 and $<$.05 levels of significance
(See table 5.9).

Table 5.9: Socio-economic status of the family & interaction
with non-scheduled caste acquaintances

Family's socio-economic status	Interaction with non-scheduled caste acquaintances												Total
	Attending ceremonies				Taking meals				Kitchen entry				
	None	Some	Most	All	None	Some	Most	All	None	Some	Most	All	
Low	67	90	13	18	65	93	16	14	124	42	10	12	188
Medium	9	21	9	9	11	23	6	8	27	11	6	4	48
High	–	1	3	–	–	2	2	–	1	1	2	–	4
Total	76	112	25	27	76	118	24	22	152	54	18	16	240

df.= 6, x^2=30.0, P$<$.001, x^2=13.9, P$<$.05, x^2=14.3, P$<$.05,
C = .333   C = .234,   C = .236

Changing status of the respondents in the caste-
hierarchy was further examined on the basis of interaction of
their acquaintances with the respondents themselves. The
purpose of such an inquiry was to pinpoint any discrepancy in
interactions initiated by both the respondents and their
acquaintances. We noted that a majority of the respondents
(67.9%) employed in all cadres of jobs   received their

acquaintances for attending their some, most and all ceremonies, though a majority of the sweeper respondents (71.4%) failed to do so. Similar was the case with the acquaintances also regarding their taking meals/refreshments and entering kitchen of the respondents occasionally. But when we examined the interaction of the acquaintances with the respondents through statistical measures, we recorded both the positive and negative causal relationship between the background of the respondents and various kinds of interaction of their acquaintances with them. For instance, there was no causal relationship at all (P > .50) between different cadres of the respondents and participation of acquaintances in various ceremonies held in their homes. But other two forms of interaction were causally related to the different cadres of jobs of the respondents (P < .01 and P < .001 levels of significance). Similar was the case of the extent of such causal relationship also, i.e. the extent of causal relationship between the job-cadres of the respondents and their interaction with their acquaintances, initiated by the latter, was positive (See Table 5.17 in Appendix -B).

Further, first two sorts of interaction of acquaintances with the respondents were significant at < .001, < .001 levels of probability, from the point of view of socio-economic status of the respondents' family. But their interaction in term of kitchen entry was insignificant (P > .05). The extent of such causal

relationships were also positive though the values of co-efficient of contingencies were not very high (See Table 5.22 in Appendix -B). Thus, the hypothesis that higher the socio-economic status of the family of the respondents, the more was the interaction of acquaintances with the respondents was partly supported. But the level of interactions of non-scheduled caste acquaintances was not fully related to the caste, and residential (rural, urban and semi-urban-town) background of the respondents (See Tables 5.18 and 5.19 in Appendix -B). In other words, the acquaintances interacted with the respondents irrespective of the respondents' caste and residential background.

The caste background of the respondents had partial effect over the interaction of acquaintances with them in terms of the kitchen entry (P $<$.001). Similarly, such interactions were causally related to the age and job seniority (partly related) of the respondents also (See Tables 5.20 and 5.21 in Appendix -B). Thus, we find that, by and large, changes have occurred in the respondents' status in caste-hierarchy though still there are certain reservations in free acceptance of the respondents by their acquaintances and others.

<u>Social Status in a Multiple Status-Hierarchy</u>:

We have seen, on previous pages, the achievement of status by the respondents in the caste and class hierarchies

separately. We have also discussed their 'subjective'
(perceived by themselves) and 'accorded[21] (assessed by others)
statuses in the class hierarchy. But the term status' itself
requires some conceptual clarification (besides a brief
explanation in the previous section) here, before we enter
into a comprehensive analysis of social status achieved by the
respondents. Marshall[22] refers to status as "the position of
an individual relative to other individuals" in terms of
several dimensions such as intellect, culture, social standing,
personal look, etc. In that way, one may achieve high status
in one dimension and low in the other. Such statuses of an
individual may be regarded as his status - sets[23] the totality
of which determines his 'social status'.

Further, attempts have been made to explain the term
status in Indian social setting also. For example, in the
words of Mandelbaum[24], "For those at the lowest levels,
improvement in status can mean the freedom to live in more
desirable locations than those to which they are often confined

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21. Marshall, T.H. Sociology at the Cross Roads. London:
    Heinemann, 1963, p. 197.

22. Ibid, p. 198.

23. Merton, Robert K. Social Theory and Social Structure.
    New Delhi: Amerind Publishing Company, Pvt. Ltd., 1968
    pp. 422-438.

24. Mandelbaum, David G. Society in India: Continuity
    and Change, Vol. I. Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1970,
    p. 218.

or the freedom to use water points denied to the lowliest."
Referring to A.C. Mayer (1956, p. 140) Mandelbaum, further,
states that, "For others it is mainly a matter of self-
respect ---". In this sense, status means acquiring some
material gains and self-respect derived from them.

In addition, the status has been defined in a diffe-
rent context also. Dumont[25], for instance, reserves the term
status for religious status, i.e. a caste-rank in the caste-
hierarchy. In other words, a status of an individual is
assigned to him by others in the caste system and that is a
part of the 'corporate' status sanctioned to his caste. But
in the words of Saberwal[26], "For one thing, the unit for
social appraisal in urban India is - increasingly - not the
corporate group but the individual; and the co-determinants of
this appraisal include education, economic resources, political
influence, general knowledgeability, etc., besides religious
status. The composite evaluation of one's social standing
by others - and one's awareness of this evaluation by them -
will here be designated 'Status', with a capital S." In that

25. Dumont, L. "A Fundamental Problem in Sociology of Caste",
    Contributions to Indian Sociology, No.9, 1966, pp.17-32
    (referred in Saberwal's "Status, Mobility and Networks
    in a Punjabi Industrial Town", 1972, p. 114).
26. Saberwal, S. "Status, Mobility and Networks in a Punjabi
    Industrial Town" in his Beyond the Village: Sociological
    Explorations (ed.), Transactions No.15. Simla: Indian
    Institute of Advanced Study, 1972, p. 114.

way, a status is composite and individual.

In the present study we have regarded status of the respondents as composite and individual (in Saberwal's sense) and designated it as their social status. Such a meaning of social status corresponds to a conceptual explanation of the term given by Marshall[27]. According to Marshall, "By social status, then, we mean a man's general standing vis-a-vis the other members of society or some section of it." Based on both the subjective and objective aspects of evaluation the term social status carries an idea of inferior and superior and is a position "accorded in terms of the social values current in the society". Thus, in a social system like the Indian particularly in urban setting, the social status of a person should be measured on the basis of subjective, composite and corporate (attributional) criteria of status evaluation.

Keeping the above mentioned explnations in mind we have measured here social status of the respondents in a multi-hierarchical domain. We have measured their social status in the class and caste hierarchies through a comprehensive index of subjective, composite (based on objective criteria)

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27. Op. cit., pp. 186-87.

caste in the city. However, their social status was high among the people of their own as well as other castes living nearby who sought their favours on various occasions. If we see table 5.10, it is clear that the percentage of the respondents having their social status at middle level is significantly less (57.9%) than their percentage according to their middle class status perceived by them and their acquaintances (77% and 69.2%) respectively. Similarly, their number was also higher when we considered interactions of the respondents with their non-scheduled caste acquaintances and vice-versa. The reason for such variations can be given in terms of all the three criteria which the respondents considered at the time of evaluation of their social status. Such variations in statuses of the respondents in different situations might have generated status-anxiety among them. We have discussed status-anxiety among the respondents in the next section.

Further, the level of achievement of social status of the respondents was cross-checked by their job-cadres, age, job-seniority, caste, residence, and socio-economic status of family. There was a causal relationship between job-cadres and social status of the respondents. And such a causal relationship was significant at the probability level of even less than .05 which means higher the cadres of the respondents in their job, the higher was their social status in a

multiple status hierarchy. Thus, the probability of effect
of job over the achievement of better social status was high
but the extent of the causal relationship between them was
not very high (C = .328).

Table 5.10: Job-designation and social status in their
neighbourhood.

Job-designation	Social status in the neighbourhood			Total
	Low	Middle	High	
1. Sweeper (IV)	3	4	-	7
2. Non-sweeper (IV)	5	21	7	33
3. Lower Division clerk	4	25	11	40
4. Upper Division clerk	7	64	26	97
5. Lower technical staff	3	7	9	19
6. Supervisory staff	2	15	15	32
7. Officer (II)	1	2	5	8
8. Officer (I)	-	1	3	4
Total	25	139	76	240

$$x^2 = 28.9 \quad , \quad df. = 14 \quad , \quad P < .05 \quad , \quad C = .328$$

The other variables relating to background of the respondents did not have any effect over their social status as the causal relationship between such background and social status was insignificant ($>.05$). Similar was the case with the extent of such relationship also. That is, the extent of relationship between social status of the respondents and their social background was not significant (See Table 5.23 to 5.26 in Appendix-B). For causal relationship between age and social status see the following table.

Table 5.11: Age of the respondents and their social status in their neighbourhood.

| Age (in years) | Social status in the neighbourhood | | | |
	Low	Middle	High	Total
20-24	7	16	8	31
25-29	5	44	24	73
30-34	8	47	17	72
35-39	3	13	13	29
40-44	1	13	11	25
>45	1	6	3	10
Total	25	139	76	240

$x^2 = 13.9$, df.= 10 , P $>.05$, C = .234

Besides, the levels of social status of the respond-
ents within the frame of relationship between caste and class
hierarchies can be seen in the following diagram also. In
the diagram the dark-lined arrows show a traditional relation-
ship between class and caste hierarchies. While the light-
lined arrows indicate a changed relationship, the dot-lined
arrows symbolise interactional relationship between the two
hierarchies. Finally, the points- lined arrow indicates a

Class   Caste

Upper	High
Middle	Middle
Lower	Low
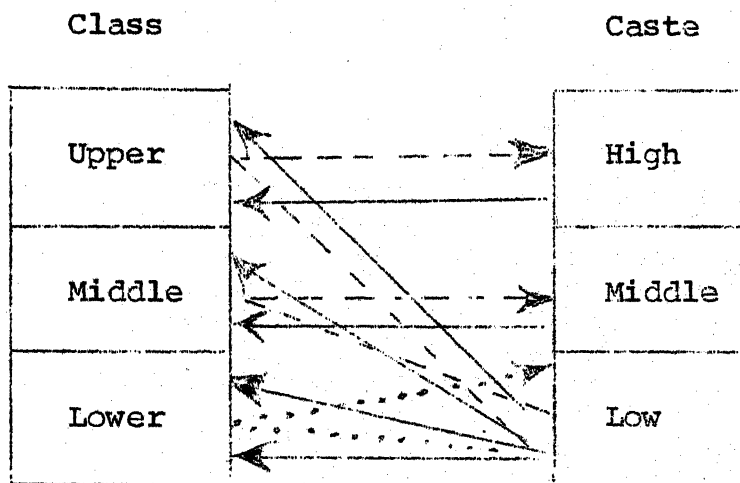
Diagram 3: Showing social status in a multiple -
                status hierarchy.

linear relationship between the class and caste hierarchies.
It is clear from the diagram that after improving their class
status, a majority of the respondents have established a
diagonal interactional relationship with their acquaintances
belonging to different non-scheduled castes though the diagonal

interaction might have existed earlier also in some cases. Thus, most of the respondents have improved their social status in the multiple status hierarchy.

Incongruity of Statuses: Status-Anxiety

Status-anxiety is an out-come of incongruity between two types of statuses of a person in two different situations. We have mentioned elsewhere in this chapter that a person may possess high status in one sphere of life and low in the other. In such a situation, there is little chance that a person may be satisfied with his status. But in most of the cases such an incongruity between two types of statuses of a person undoubtedly leads him to status-anxiety, i.e. the person worries about his status-congruence. Homans[28] explains status-incongruence, consequently status-anxiety, in terms of lack of congruity among status-factors which are "in-line" and "out-line". But in Homans' scheme status-anxiety is a result-ant of an incongruity between two or more secular statuses.

In our analysis we started, initially, a discussion on status - congruence vis-a-vis status-anxiety with the assumption that the status of the respondents in the class-

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28. Homans, George C. Sentiments and Activities: Essays in Social Science. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1962, pp. 91-102.

hierarchy did not affect their status in the caste-hierarchy.
But in due course, we noted a corresponding relationship
between class and caste statuses of the respondents, though
there were some variations in numbers of the respondents having
congruity between both the types of statuses. In addition,
such respondents also observed some reservations in their
interactions initiated by them and their non-scheduled caste
acquaintances. And, such reservations created sufficient
condition for status-anxiety among the respondents.

We noted from the following table that a vast majority
of the respondents (84.2%) did not suffer from status-anxiety
resulting from incongruity between their statuses in the class
and caste hierarchies. Among them there were those respondents
also who did not have a congruence between their statuses in
both the hierarchies. Further, among those respondents (15.8%)
who suffered from status-anxiety 23.7 per cent felt worried
at the time of their occasional humiliation by non-scheduled
caste people. Similarly, there were only 12.1 per cent
respondents who felt status-anxiety due to inferior status of
their caste and improper respect accorded on them and their
caste in the caste-hierarchy. But such respondents were evenly
distributed. For instance, there was no causal relationship
between job-cadres of the respondents and their status-anxiety.
Similar was the case with other variables relating to social
background of the respondents also.

Table 5.12: Job-cadres of respondents and levels of their status-anxiety due to incongruity between their class and caste statuses.

Job-cadres	Levels of status-anxiety				
	NA	At the time of humili- ation	No proper respect due to caste back ground	Due to inferior status in caste- hierarchy	Total
1. Sweeper (IV)	6	-	1	-	7
2. Non-sweeper (IV)	30	-	2	1	33
3. Lower Division clerk	33	2	2	3	40
4. Upper Division clerk	83	5	4	5	97
5. Lower technical staff	12	2	1	4	19
6. Supervisory staff	29	-	1	2	32
7. Officer (II)	6	-	-	2	8
8. Officer (I)	3	-	-	1	4
Total	202	9	11	18	240

$x^2 = 21.7$, df.=21 , $P > .05$, C = .287

Thus, we conclude here by stating that a majority of the respondents have improved their status in the class and caste hierarchies separately. They have also improved their social status in a multiple status hierarchy composed of class and caste statuses. It can be inferred from the above analyses that most of the respondents do not bother about their 'corporate' status (the rank of their caste) but they are satisfied with their social status acquired from their interaction with others and their secular achievements. But those who suffer from status-anxiety, have not been able to improve their social status in the society and probably they compare their status with the status of others.

STATUS-IDENTIFICATION: A FRAME OF AMBIVALENCE

It is a well-known fact that a vast majority of the Scheduled Castes still live a miserable life though their condition has slightly improved during the recent years. But the most crucial problem which they face, at present, is the problem of their identification. At the identification level, the poor masses of the Scheduled Castes suffer from an inferiority complex as they usually compare their social status with the status of the well-to-do members of their community and with the people of non-scheduled castes as well. Similar to the majority of the Scheduled Castes the well-to-do persons (minority) among them also face a problem of identification. Hence, their problem of identification is quite different. Such people suffer from the problem of a dual identity. Though they try to 'pass' their past, yet they are unable, at present, to acquire a new identity. More clearly, they are in a state of "semi-limbo"[1] as they have neither completely forgotten their previous status nor have they succeeded in acquiring new identity. More than that, they are "out-caste" for their own kith and kin and "untouchable" for

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1. Isaacs, Harold R. India's Ex-Untouchables. Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1965, pp. 128-142.

others who do not easily accept them as their equals. Thus, according to Isaacs[2] no one knows where they will go.

In the previous chapters, we have presented an analysis of data on social mobility among the respondents and the extent of their status achievement. In the present chapter we shall measure the level of their status-identification and also examine their identity-crisis, if there is any.

Status-Identification: A Conceptual Analysis

The process of identification has been dealt with from both the psychological and sociological points of view. Psychologically, the phenomenon of identification is related to the concept of self. What one feels about oneself is realised by "Who am I?" Contrary to the philosophical interpretation of "Who am I"? a psychologist answers this question in terms of the existence of an individual, and of his personality formation. The formation of an individual's self and personality are related to his identity which has both subjective (private), and objective (public) interpersonal aspects. "Moreover, the two are inter-dependent and intertwined and even inseparable to a certain extent."[3]

But in sociological literature, the concept ⁊

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2. Ibid, pp. 90-149.

3. Paranjpe, A.C. In Search of Identity (Unpublished Manuscript), Chapter 2, pp. 19-20.

of identification has been analysed in terms of an individual's adjustment in his social surroundings. Such an identification generally seeks the behaviour and attitudes of other individuals and groups. Therefore, in sociological sense, the identification of an individual is related to the identification of his status. Such an identification exists always in comparison to certain group or individual. In the words of Merton[4], "--- Sociological theory holds that identification with groups and with individuals occupying designated statuses does not occur at random but tends to be patterned by the environing structure of established social relationships and by prevailing cultural definitions". Merton holds the view that the identification may be either partial or full depending upon the extent of adoption of reference group/individual behaviour. In partial identification the emulator adopts only a role-model of an individual but in full identification he emulates and internalises the entire style of life of reference individual or of group. And, thus, an emulator projects his image or identity adopted from his reference individual or group.

Methodologically, the projection of image of a person

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4. Merton, Robert K. Social Theory and Social Structure (Second Enlarged Edition). New Delhi: Amerind Publishing Co., Pvt., Ltd., 1968, p. 356.

can be made through the process of self-evaluation. Zetter-berg[5] has discussed this process in terms of "identity-postu-late" in which one evaluates one's identity by including one's cognition and motivations about self-image. In the opinion of Zetterberg, a self-evaluator acts to maintain his "self-evaluations rather than the entire self-image". Such a possibility is also there in case of self-evaluation of identity of our respondents and we shall examine it in this chapter.

Apart from identification at the level of reference group/individual behaviour an identification is generally made at ethnocentric level[6] also. A person often identifies with his ethnic group of which he is a member by birth. Such a group facilitates him by providing him with all sorts of security. Besides, a person has an emotional attachment also to his ethnic group. In the present study, we have measured identification of the respondents at the level of caste because a caste, besides its other properties, has all the characteristics of an ethnic group.

In most of the cases persons suffer from identification

5. Zetterberg, Hans L. "On Motivation" in Sociological Theories in Profress (Vol. I) – Joseph Berger, Morris Zelditch Jr., and BO Anderson (eds.). Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1966, pp. 124-141 .
6. Sumner, W.G. Folkways. New York: Mentor Book Edition, 1960 (first published in 1906).

problems. But such problems vary from situation to situation. Klapp[7] has recorded four major situations in which a person may face the problem of identity. These situations or sources are: i) when a person becomes a 'marginal man' by breaking up old traditions and adopting modernization ii) when he is member of a minority group "with unsatisfactory identity imposed by prejudice and discrimination ---"; iii) mobile pluralism: movement of persons from one status, subculture, class, community to another in a social milieu with great variations; and iv) lack of employment and opportunity to prove one's ability. The sources of identity problems of our respondents can be traced in the first three situations because the problem of their identification is very much rooted in their search for a new status which may be recognised by the society.

The nature and levels of status-identification of the respondents have been measured within a theoretical framework of ethnocentric and contra-identification presented by Paranjpe[8]. Paranjpe borrowed the concept of ethnocentrism

7. Klapp, Orrin E. Collective Search for Identity. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston Inc., 1966, pp.14-20.

8. Paranjpe, A.C. Caste, Prejudice and the Individual. Bombay: Lalvani Publishing House, 1970, pp. 106-138, 211-214.

from Sumner's analysis, which was later developed by Allport[9] and Adorno et al[10], and he applied it in the caste framework. On the basis of empirical evidence he observed that, at the ethnocentric level, a person preferred his own caste group and ranked it superior to the other caste-groups. Further, he found that in the changed situation such identification was visible all the time. But there were persons who identified themselves at different levels contrary to their ethnocentric identification. Paranjpe gave a term of contraidentification for such an identification.

At the ethnocentric level, we have considered identification of the respondents in terms of disclosure of their caste affiliation to a visitor, adoption of caste surnames and of behaviour of reference group/individual belonging to their own caste. Similarly, at the level of contra-identification, the same indicators like the respondents' identification before a visitor, adoption of surnames other than that of the caste, and adoption of behaviour of reference group/individual of other than their own caste (Scheduled Castes also) have been taken into account. In contra-identification we have

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9. Allport, G.W. The Nature of Prejudice. New York: Doubleday, Anchor Books ed., 1958.

10. Adorno, T.W. ; E. Frenkel - Brunswik; D.J. Levinson & R.N. Sanford -- The Authoritarian Personality. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950.

included identification of the respondents at class level also
to have a comparative picture of levels of their status-
identification within the caste and class hierarchies. Finally,
we have measured the crisis of their status-identification
if they really face.

From the methodological point of view, we have relied
here, again, upon the variables like caste, age, residence,
and socio-economic status of the family, and cadres of and
seniority in the present job of the respondents. The entire
analysis in this chapter like the previous chapters is based
on causal relationship between respondents' background and
their identification. In addition, we have measured the
extent of such relationship also.

Status-Identification: A Self-evaluation Process

A vast majority of the respondents (90.8%) identified
themselves at the level of contra-identification in which they
mentioned their name, educational qualification, job-cadres,
neighbourhood locality, and name of the office in which they
were employed. A few of the respondents (5.8%) took a very
extreme position and disclosed their identity as a "human-
being". Further, there were only a small number of respondents
(9.2%) who did not hesitate to identify themselves at the
caste level. Thus, the majority of the respondents lacked
ethnocentricity in their identification.

If we analyse the levels of identification of the respondents from the point of view of their job-cadres, it is clear that a majority (73.8%) of the respondents employed in all cadres of jobs in the sample preferred to mention their initial name to a visitor. Such respondents identified at the level of contra-identification. Further, the number of the respondents identifying at different levels of contra-identification was, by and large, evenly distributed. It is clear from the following table that the levels of identification of the respondents to a visitor are not related to their job-cadres as the probability of causal relationship between job-cadres and levels of identification is low at $>.05$ level. Similarly, the extent of such relationship also is insignificant because the value of co-efficient of contingencies (C) is .272.

Table 6.1: Job-cadres of the respondents and their identification to a visotor.

Job-cadres	Levels of identification					Total
	Human being	Name	Job-cadres	Caste	Others	
1. Sweeper (IV)	–	4	1	2	–	7
2. Non-sweeper(IV)	2	21	4	3	3	33
3. Lower Division clerk	2	24	3	6	5	40
4. Upper Division clerk	6	63	11	8	9	97
5. Lower Technical staff	1	13	1	2	2	19
6. Supervisory staff	2	22	6	–	2	32
7. Officer (II)	–	7	–	1	–	8
8. Officer (I)	1	3	–	–	–	4
Total	14	157	26	22	21	240

$$x^2 = 19.3 \ , \quad df.=28 \ , \quad P > .05 \ , \quad C = .272$$

Like job-cadres other variables such as age, caste, residential background and socio-economic status of family of the respondents also were not related to the levels of their identification to a visitor. In such cases also the probability of causal relationship between levels of identification and social background of the respondents was very low at $>.05$ level of significance. Similar was the case with the extent of such relationship also.

Table 6.2 : Age of respondents and their identification to a visitor

Age (in years)	Identification levels					Total
	Human being	Name	Job cadre	Caste	Others	
20-24	2	18	4	2	5	31
25-29	4	51	9	3	6	73
30-34	4	49	4	9	6	72
35-39	1	19	4	4	1	29
40-44	1	14	4	3	3	25
$>$45	2	6	1	1	-	10
Total	14	157	26	22	21	240

$$x^2 = 15.9 \ , \quad df. = 20 \ , \quad P >.05 \ , \quad C = .249$$

The effect of caste of the respondents over their levels of identification to a visitor can be seen in the following table. For causal relationship between residential background, socio-economic status of family and seniority in job and levels of identification to a visitor see Tables 6.1 to 6.3 in Appendix - C.

Table 6.3: Caste background and identification to a visitor

Castes	Levels of identification					Total
	Human being	Name	Job cadres	Caste	Others	
Balmiki	–	7	2	2	–	11
Chamar	8	101	11	9	8	137
Dhobi	–	11	2	1	3	17
Khatik	–	6	–	1	1	8
Kori	4	19	4	4	4	35
Pasi	2	10	2	3	3	20
Others	–	3	5	2	2	12
Total	14	157	26	22	21	240

$$x^2 = 32.8 \quad, \quad df. = 24 \;, \quad P > .10 \;, \quad C = .346$$

They disclosed the levels of identification to a
visitor who was obviously supposed to be a new person for them.
But they might have considered various factors at the time of
disclosing their identity to him. More clearly, they would
have faced a dilemma as to why a visitor was interested in
their identification, and what level of identification he
expected to know from them. Therefore, there is a possibility
that the respondents might have not disclosed the exact level
of their identification. It is obvious because "At almost any
point of contact with the caste Hindu world, the satisfaction
of a man's simplest needs often depended on his readiness to
conceal his caste identity and, if need be, to falsify it."[11]
In case of the Scheduled Castes, the concealing of caste
identity may be due to two reasons: first, they may be suffering
from inferiority complex due to 'low' caste background, and
second, they may conceal their caste "to get food and lodging,
to win acceptance or at least to avoid rejection"[12]. Hence,
a direct question was put to the respondents. Whether they
would disclose their caste-affiliation to others, and if yes,
then on what occasions?

A sizable number of the respondents (35.4%), employed

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11.   Isaacs, Harold R.   Op. cit., p. 143.

12.   Ibid.

in all cadres of jobs, did not agree to disclose their caste background to any one on any occasion.. But the respondents who agreed to disclose their caste identity mentioned the occasions, like, meeting with caste members (2.5%), due to reservation policy (10.4%), on some 'specific' occasions such as one in which anybody asks (11.3%), and on all occasions (40.4%). Thus, a majority (62.9%) of the respondents identified themselves with their caste by agreeing to disclose their caste background. But the identification of those who agreed to disclose their caste background to the persons belonging to their own caste (and other Scheduled Castes also), and of those who agreed to disclose their caste background for the benefit of the reservation-policy, were, in a strict sense, not cases of ethnocentric-identification. In case of ethnocentric identification the members of one ethnic group hate and badly criticise the members of the other group(s). But such a criticism is not always apparent. In case of our respondents also, they criticised people of other castes but they could not harm them which is an extreme form of ethnocentrism.

Statistically, such a level of identification was not significant within the frame of a causal relationship as the job-cadres of the respondents did not have hold over the level of their status-identification. More clearly, those respondents who identified themselves at the level of ethno-

centric identification were employed in almost all cadres of jobs except that of the officer (I) cadre. Further, the probability of a causal relationship between job-cadres and levels of identification was low at $>.05$ level. But the extent of the existing relationship between both the variables was significant with .367 value of co-efficient of contingencies. In other words, the respondents agreed to identify at the ethnocentric level not because they were employed in lower or higher cadres of jobs but because they had a "we feeling" towards their caste members. More than that, the respondents considered the reservation facilities also when they mentioned their ethnocentric identification.

Table 6.4: Job-cadres and disclosure of caste background to others.

Job-cadres	Disclosure of caste background					
	NA	With caste members	Due to reservation policy	On specific occasion	On any occasion	Total
1. Sweeper (IV)	1	-	2	1	3	7
2. Non-sweeper (IV)	10	1	3	3	16	33
3. Lower Division clerk	10	3	5	4	18	40
4. Upper Division clerk	28	2	10	12	45	97
5. Lower Technical staff	10	-	1	2	6	19
6. Supervisory staff	16	-	4	4	8	32
7. Officer (II)	6	-	-	1	1	8
8. Officer (I)	4	-	-	-	-	4
Total	85	6	25	27	97	240

$$x^2 = 37.5 \ , \quad df.= 28 \ , \quad P > .05 \ , \quad C = .367$$

Caste has a direct bearing over the identification
of status of a person. Paranjpe[13], for instance, in his study
of college students belonging to the Scheduled Castes, Maratha
and Brahman caste groups found variation in the degree of
their ethnocentric identification. In comparison to non-
scheduled caste respondents a small number of Scheduled Caste
and neo-Buddhist respondents identified themselves with their
caste. Since the essence of the caste system is a hierarchical
ordering of all castes, there is a clear manifestation of
such a hierarchy among the Scheduled Castes also. We hypothe-
sised that higher a caste in the hierarchy of the Scheduled
Castes, more were the chances of contra-identification. In
our sample no major deviation occurred in the levels of status-
identification among the respondents belonging to various
Scheduled Castes. It is clear from the following table that
a majority of the respondents belonging to all castes in the
sample did not identify themselves with their caste (even
Scheduled Castes). Further, a majority of respondents
belonging to castes like Balmiki, Chamar, Dhobi and Pasi which
are regarded lower (in a descending order) in the hierarchy
of the Scheduled Castes also did not disclose their caste-
identity.

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13. Paranjpe, A.C. 1970, Op. cit., pp. 72-74. Chapter 5
    can also be seen.

Table 6.5: Caste background and its disclosure to others

Castes	Disclosing caste identity					Total
	NA	With caste members	Due to reservation	On every occasion	On specific occasions	
Balmiki	1	-	2	5	3	11
Chamar	52	3	15	50	17	137
Dhobi	8	-	1	7	1	17
Khatik	3	-	2	3	-	8
Kori	8	2	2	19	4	35
Pasi	9	-	3	7	1	20
Others	4	1	-	6	1	12
Total	85	6	25	97	27	240

$$x^2 = 22.2 , \quad df.= 24, \quad P > .05 , \quad C = .29$$

The hypothesis was not nullified because statistically there was no causal relationship between the caste of the respondents and disclosure of their caste background. The probability of such a relationship was low at $>.05$ level of significance. Similar was the case with the extent of such a causal relationship also. In the same fashion age and

socio-economic status of the respondents' family also did not affect their levels of status-identification (See tables 6.4 and 6.5 in Appendix - C).

But the residential background, and job-seniority of the respondents affected their levels of identification. The respondents belonging to rural background hesitated to disclose their caste background to others while a sizable number of respondents (47.8%) coming from cities agreed to disclose their caste identity on any occasions. Thus, the probability of causal-relationship between residential background and disclosure of caste identity was high at $<$ .05 level of significance, but the extent of such a relationship was not significant (C = .253). That is, there did not exist a causal relationship between the residential background of the respondents and the levels of their identification though the probability of existence of such relationship was high (See Table 6.6 in Appendix -C).

Again, seniority in job also affected levels of identification as the respondents who were senior in their respective jobs, by and large, did not hesitate to disclose their caste background to others. Thus, the probability of a causal relationship between seniority in job and level of ethnocentric (caste) identification was very high at $<$ .001 level of significance. Similarly, the extent of such rela-tionship also was significant with a positive value

(C = .583) of co-efficient of contingencies. It means the more senior the respondents in their jobs, the more are the chances of ethnocentric identification (See Table 6.7 in Appendix - C).

Status-Identification: An Objective Evaluation

Besides the self-evaluative process an indirect technique based on 'objective' evaluation was also adopted to measure the levels of status-identification among the respondents. There is a common tendency among the people residing in rural as well as urban areas to adopt surnames which generally indicate their caste-background. Such a surname serves two purposes : first, it indicates one's loyalty to one's caste and invokes one's superior status in the caste-system if one belongs or claims to belong to the higher caste-at all. In the words of Paranjpe[14] , "One may feel concerned either (with prestige or caste status) because one feels proud about it, or because one is ashamed of it." Secondly, in a formal situation nobody likes to be addressed by his first name. A surname helps him maintain certain personal and social distance with others. In addition, a surname relating to caste indicates one's identification at the caste or ethnic level than otherwise.

Keeping such a view in mind we asked the respondents to mention their surnames. More than 50 per cent respondents

(131) did not add any surname after their first name. But
around 19 percent of the respondents added surnames of other
than castes, and there were 27 per cent subjects who had
their surnames relating to their castes. Thus, more than
70 per cent respondents identified themselves at the level of
contra-identification. Such a finding is in accordance with
a similar finding of students' identification measured by
Paranjpe in his earlier study.[15] These findings support the
view that a majority of the Scheduled Castes people are shy
of their caste background. This is true because in the view
of the respondents the non-scheduled caste people look down
upon them because of their caste background. That is why,
they try to 'pass' their identification at the caste level by
discarding their caste surnames.

    The level of identification measured through the
adoption of surnames was causally related to job-cadres, age,
and job-seniority of the respondents. Other variables like
caste, residence and socio-economic status of family of the
respondents did not affect the levels of their identification
at all as the probability of their effect over levels of
identification was low at $>$.05 level of significance.

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15. Ibid, p. 110.

Regarding causal relationship between cadres of jobs and
levels of identification, superior jobs did not affect identi-
fication. For instance, about 40 percent supervisors, 37.5
per cent class II and 50 per cent class I officers had added
caste surname like Kureel, Jatava, Sonkar, etc. with their
initial name. Though such an observation is not very signi-
ficant from theoretical point of view, yet it provides a
framework for partial causal relationship between job-cadres
and levels of identification. Thus, the hypothesis that higher
the cadre in a government job, more are the chances for
ethnocentric identification is partially verified though the
probability of causal relationship between the two variables
is high at $<.05$ level of significance.

Table 6.6: Job-cadres and identification by adding surnames

Job-cadres	Levels of Identification			
	N.A.	Caste surnames	Surnames other than castes	Total
1. Sweeper (IV)	4	2	1	7
2. Non-sweeper (IV)	23	8	2	33
3. L.D.C.	27	8	5	40
4. U.D.C.	50	28	19	97
5. L.T.S.	10	1	8	19
6. Supervisor	11	13	8	32
7. Officer (II)	5	3	--	8
8. Officer (I)	1	--2	1	4
Total	131	65	44	240

$x^2 = 25.3$, df.= 14 , $P <.05$, C = .309

Further, the probability was high ($<$ .001 at 10 df. with x^2 = 31.5 and C = .34) in case of age of the respondents and nature of adoption of their surname (See Table 6.8 in Appendix - C). A majority (80%) of the respondents between 20 and 34 years of age either did not add any surname or adopted surnames other than that of their caste. But a sizable percentage (12.5%) of those respondents who were more than 35 years old were, by and large, more ethnocentric by adding caste surname with their first name. The reason in case of younger respondents having contra-identification through the adoption of surnames may be given in terms of their higher educational qualification and their earnest consciousness about their status in the caste and class hierarchies. Besides, there is a pronounced tendency among the younger generation of all castes to drop their caste surnames. The younger persons belonging to various Scheduled Castes have realised their low status in the caste-system. Therefore, they tend to 'pass' their identification at the level of caste by dropping their caste surnames. Again, those respondents who had completed more than 10 years in their respective job adopted caste-surnames. Thus, the causal relationship between seniority in job and level of identification also was significant at $<$.001 level with 10 df. (x^2 = 33.5 and C = .35). Table 6.9 in Appendix - C may be seen in this regard.

We found in the present study that there were no causal relationships between caste and residential background of the respondents, and the levels of their status identification. However, they require a brief discussion here. Mandelbaum[16], in his comprehensive study of Society in India, observed a positive correlation between castes)(Jatis) and status-identification. In his own words, "So a villager identifies closely with jati because much of his social world is encompassed within it and because his concept of himself is a part of his jati's idea of what kind of people they are. Coupled with his self-identification is his constant identification by others as one of his jati. Jati is a principal referent in village life and although one villager deals with another in terms of grosser categories, jati is nonetheless at the basis of reference." Besides, Mandelbaum recorded identification of rural people at the levels of village and region also.

But such levels of identification were not workable in case of our respondents who resided in a city like Kanpur. In cities people are more bothered about their style of life and class-status rather than restoring their caste status. More

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16. Mandelbaum, David G. Society in India (Vol. I) : Continuity and Change. Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1972, p. 322.

than that, most of the respondents in our sample were 'passing' their parental status and were in search of a new identification. That is why, they identified themselves at the level of middle class though a sizable number of them were anxious about improvement in their caste status also.

Status-identification through the Reference Group/ Individual Behaviour:

Merton and Rossi[17], Kitt[18] and several other theorists of reference group behaviour argue for status-identification through anticipatory socialization in the frame of reference group behaviour. According to Merton[19], "In the language of reference group theory, therefore, attitudes (and behaviour also) of conformity to the official mores can be described as a positive orientation to the norms of a non-membership group that is taken as a frame of reference. Such conformity to norms of an out-group is thus equivalent to what is ordinarily called non-conformity, that is, non-conformity to the

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17. Merton, R.K. and Alice S. Rossi, op. cit.,

18. Merton, R.K. & A.S. Kitt "Contributions to the Theory of Reference Group Behaviour" in Continuities in Social Research: Studies in the Scope and Method of the American Soldier - R.K. Merton & P.F. Lazarsfield (eds.). Glencoes: The Free Press, 1950.

19. Merton, R.K. Social Theory and Social Structure, p. 318.

norms of the in-group." Further, the adoption ef and conformity to norms are equally observable in case of reference individual also. But, emulation of reference group behaviour inspite of variability in degree, is fully applicable to an open system only.

If we consider caste as a status-group as conceived by Max Weber[20], it is clear that there is no chance of absorption of members of one caste group in the other. Even then, reference group/ individual behaviour functions in the caste system because, in Damle's[21] view, it reduces distance and repulsion between castes. Again, Marriott[22] argues that a person emulates not only one reference group or individual but several (multiple) references and these multiple references can be understood in terms of village (caste ranks), regional (whole endogamous castes) and civilization (familiar categories of varnas) zones. Thus, reference group/ individual behaviour has been interpreted, in caste system in India, in terms

20. Weber, Max   From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology-
    Translated by H.H. Gerth & C.W. Mills. London: Routledge
    Kegan Paul Ltd., 1961, pp. 405-409.

21. Damle, Y.B.   "Reference Group Theory with regard to
    Mobility in Caste" in Social Mobility in the Caste
    System in India - James Silverberg (ed.). The Hague:
    Mouton- Publishers, 1968, p. 98.

22. Marriott, McKim "Multiple Reference in Indian Caste
    System" in James Silverberg's Social Mobility in Caste
    System....., pp. 108-114.

of reference behaviour, besides the reference of numerous castes, in four universal categories of Varnas[23] though Damle[24] presents four models of reference behaviour on the basis of emulation of behaviour of Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Westerner.

Our concern here is to enquire about the orientation of our respondents to the reference group/individual behaviour. We have measured levels of their emulation also because the orientation and emulation manifest the nature and levels of their status-identification. In addition, we have analysed levels of identification of the respondents in terms of their emulation of ritual practices, consumption patterns and development orientation (reference of activities related to progress in life) of reference group/individual(s).

A large majority of the respondents did not emulate the style of life and behaviour pattern of others at any stage. There were only 20, 23 and 50 respondents who adopted ritual practices, consumption patterns and development activities respectively of those persons whom they made their reference model. The number of the respondents adopting all the three aspects of behaviour of reference individual overlapped, i.e. the respondents who adopted the ritual practices of others

23. Mandelbaum, David G.   Op. cit., pp. 442-467.

24. Damle, Y.B.   Op. cit., pp. 98-102.

also adopted consumption patterns and development activities and vice versa. But the percentages of emulators in each aspect of behaviour were very low (8.3, 9.6 and 20.8 respectively) and their cumulative percentage was also low (12.9). Besides, the emulators chose several social reformers, like Lord Buddha, Gurunanak, Ramkrishna Paramhansa, Vivekanand, Dayanand, and political leaders and political ideologists like Mahatma Gandhi, Dr. Ambedkar, Marx & Lenin as their reference individuals. Then, few of the adoptors emulated the behaviour of their father only.

At this stage, if we relate the levels of adoption of behaviour of reference individuals to the social background of our respondents, we find that the age, residential background and job-cadres of the respondents did not have any hold over their adoption of behaviour of reference individual. The probability of such a hold was low at $>.05$ level. Only in case of caste, socio-economic status of family and seniori in job of the respondents a partial cause-effect relationship was observed. That is, the emulators belonging to castes (Balmiki, Chamar and Khatik), regarded as relatively inferior in the Scheduled Castes hierarchy, emulated consumption patterns of their reference individual ($P <.01$ level).

Table 6.7: Caste background of respondents and adoption of reference individual behaviour.

Castes background	Adoption levels of reference individual's behaviour												Total
	Ritual ceremonies				Consumption pattern				Development orientation				
	None	Some	Most	All	None	Some	Most	All	None	Some	Most	All	
Balmiki	11	–	–	–	9	2	–	–	8	3	–	–	11
Chamar	122	5	5	5	124	1	7	5	102	16	12	7	137
Dhobi	17	–	–	–	17	–	–	–	17	–	–	–	17
Khatik	6	–	2	–	4	1	2	1	4	1	2	1	8
Kori	33	–	2	–	34	–	1	–	33	1	1	–	35
Pasi	20	–	–	–	19	1	–	–	17	3	–	–	20
Others	11	1	–	–	10	1	1	–	9	2	1	–	12
Total	220	6	9	5	217	6	11	6	190	26	16	8	240

df.$=18$, $x^2=20.6$, $P > .05$, $x^2=39.5$, $P < .01$, $x^2=27.4$, $P > .05$,

$\quad\quad\quad\quad C = .281$ $\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad C = .375$ $\quad\quad\quad\quad C = .319$

Again, the emulators coming from low socio-economic status of their family adopted ritual ceremonies of their reference individuals (P .05 level of significance). Thus, the assumption was verified that lower the socio-economic status of the family of the respondents the more were the chances of emulation of ritual practices of others. Finally, there was a causal relationship between emulators' job-seniority and their adoption of ritual ceremonies of the reference individuals (See Table 6.10 in Appendix-C).

Table 6.8: Socio-economic status of respondents' family & their adoption of reference individual behaviour.

Socio-economic status	Adoption levels of reference individual behaviour												Total
	Ritual ceremonies				Consumption pattern				Development orientation				
	None	Some	Most	All	None	Some	Most	All	None	Some	Most	All	
Low	172	4	7	5	168	4	10	6	143	23	14	8	188
Medium	45	1	2	–	46	1	1	–	44	2	2	–	48
High	3	1	–	–	3	1	–	–	3	1	–	–	4
Total	220	6	9	5	217	6	11	6	190	26	16	8	240

df.=6 , x^2=12.9 , P .05 , x^2=11.2 , P>.05, x^2= 7.5 , P>.05,
        C = .226   C = .212   C = .173

At the level of reference group behaviour also a large majority of the respondents did not have any group. There were only 7.5 per cent respondents who adopted ritual practices like- 'Katha' (recitation of a mythological story), 'Mundan' (Tonsure) and 'Janeu' (wearing sacred thread) similar to their reference group. Further, 26.6 and 37.8 per cent (64 and 91) respondents emulated consumption patterns and development orientation of their reference group respectively. Like the numbers of respondents adopting the behaviour of reference individuals there was an overlapping in the number of respondents absorbing the norms of reference group at all the three levels of reference group behaviour. But cumulative percentage of the emulators was relatively lower (24.0) in case of total adoption of reference group behaviour.

Regarding the nature of the groups emulated by the respondents there was no specific caste-group or varna-category preferred by them. The referents evenly belonged to various castes including the Scheduled Castes. Further, when the adoptors were asked about the purpose of emulation, most of them wished to possess status similar to the status of their reference group. There were only few respondents who consi-dered the environmental effect on their adoption.

Again, there was no causal relationship between social background of the respondents and the levels of their adoption of reference group behaviour. For instance, job-cadres of the respondents did not affect the levels of their adoption of reference group behaviour (See the above table). In case of all the independent variables relating to social background of the respondents the probability of causal relationship was low at $>$ .05 level. Similar was the case with the extent of such relationship also, i.e. the relationship between social background of the respondents and levels of their adoption of reference group behaviour was insignificant. (See Table 6.11 in Appendix - C besides the following table).

Table 6.10: Age of respondents and their adoption of reference
group behaviour.

Age in years	Levels of reference group behaviour												Total
	Ritual ceremonies				Consumption pattern				Development orientation				
	None	Some	Most	All	None	Some	Most	All	None	Some	Most	All	
20-24	25	6	-	-	18	10	3	-	16	11	4	-	31
25-29	70	3	-	-	52	16	5	-	47	19	7	-	73
30-34	67	4	1	-	57	11	4	-	48	19	5	-	72
35-39	27	2	-	-	22	6	1	-	16	11	2	-	29
40-44	24	1	-	-	20	4	1	-	16	8	1	-	25
>45	9	1	-	-	7	2	1	-	6	2	2	-	10
Total	222	17	1	-	176	49	15	-	149	70	21	-	240

df.=15 , x^2=11.5, P>.05 ; x^2=6.7, P>.05; x^2=6.2, P>.05,
        C = .214   C = .125   C = .119

The above analysis of the data on adoption of surnames and of reference group/individual behaviour of our respondents cannot be viewed within the frame of the theory of Sanskritization propounded by Srinivas.[25] A majority of the respondents followed neither Sanskritic nor secular style of life of the upper castes. Only a small percentage of the respondents adopted all the three aspects of behaviour of their reference group and or individual, but the extent of such an adoption, in a majority of the cases, was 'some' and, in few cases, 'most'. More than that, a sizable numbers of the adopters followed the style of life and behaviour patterns of reference groups/individuals belonging to the Scheduled Castes also. Thus, it is apparent that the theory of Sanskritization may be applicable in certain situations but it is not relevant at all in case of our respondents. Further, the identification of the respondents at the level of reference group/individual behaviour was partial because the emulators could not identify themselves fully with their reference group/individual.

Status-identification: An Ambivalence

We have seen in this chapter that a majority of the

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25. Srinivas, M.N. Social Change in Modern India (Chapter on Sanskritization). Bombay: Orient Longman, 1972, pp. 1-45.

respondents identified themselves at the level of contra-identification. At this level of identification, sometimes they mentioned their 'secular' achievement and sometimes their status in the class hierarchy. Further, a few respondents identified themselves at non-caste-class (reference group / individual behaviour, secular achievement, etc.) level. But all such respondents were trying to escape from their 'stigmatized ethnic (caste) identity'[26]. There were only few respondents who identified themselves at the ethnocentric level and they mentioned their affiliation with members of their castes. Such respondents felt proud by disclosing their caste-identity to others as they wanted to display their achievement to others. Besides, such a level of identification included those respondents also who identified themselves at caste level due to the reservation policy. But on one occasion or the others they realised their inferior status in the caste-hierarchy as it is clear from the previous analyses.

Further, those respondents who identified themselves at the level of contra-identification could not fully establish their identification because of certain reasons. They were dependent, to a greater length, on the Government's

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26. Berreman, Gerald D. "Self, Situation, and Escape from Stigmatized Ethnic Identity" in Management of Minority Status - Jon Brogger (ed.). Oslo: Universitets - Forlaget, 1973, pp. 11-24.

'protective policy' for their further socio-economic achievement. More than that, they were bound to extend their relationship with members of their own caste for the purpose of marriage, etc. In addition, they were, occasionally, identified as members of the Scheduled Castes at the time of their informal interaction with persons belonging to non-scheduled castes. Again, they were reminded of their parental identity when they tried for a lodging in the city. Thus, they were in a state of 'ambivalence,' as on some occasions they tried to 'pass' their previous identification but at others they were very much alive to their caste-identification. However, they tried to maintain their self-evaluated contra-identification and they did not bother about their actual self-image in the society as has been stated earlier.

Lastly, the ambivalent status-identification of around 10 per cent respondents was observed through their strong opposition to the hierarchical identification also. The respondents who had staunch belief in Marxist ideology (6.2%) and those who were followers of Buddhist philosophy (4.1%) denied their identification at both the caste and class levels. They preferred their identification at a more egalitarian level. But in real sense, they were in an 'identification-dilemma' as their kith and kin were still a part of caste-identification and they themselves were not very free to

adopt a new identity of their own choice. Moreover, they showed their orientation towards the protective discriminations provided by the Government for the Scheduled Castes.

In sum, there were only a few respondents who identified themselves at the ethnocentric level. A majority of the respondents believed in contra-identification which was apparent from their identification at the class and non-caste-class (secular achievement, reference group/ individual behaviour, etc.) levels. Some of the respondents, who identified at the level of contra-identification, showed their inclination for identification at an egalitarian level, i.e. at the level of communism or Buddhism. But most of the respondents identifying at the level of contra-identification had an 'ambivalent' identification as they could not fully establish their contra-identification among others.

CHAPTER VII

"PROTECTIVE DISCRIMINATION" AND THE RISE OF A
                NEW-MIDDLE CLASS

(Resume')

        In this concluding chapter we shall present an

emerging trend of social mobility and status-identification

among the Scheduled Castes. We shall examine how the policy

of "protective discrimination" has helped evolve a 'new

middle class' among the Scheduled Castes, and the problems

the members of this class are confronted with in their

identification to others. Lastly, we shall assess the future

prospects of this class in the Pan Indian social system.

Since the present chapter is primarily a derivation of

analyses and findings put so far in this study, we shall

rely upon the presentations and explanations of data discussed

in the previous chapters.

The Protective Discrimination Policy:

        In the first and second chapters we have seen the

conceptual explanation and benefit of the protective discri-

mination policy. Chandrasekhar[1] has identified five major

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1. Chandrasekhar, S. "Foreward" in The Untouchables in
    Contemporary India - J.M. Mahar (ed.). Arizona:
    University of Arizona Press, 1972, pp. XXIV-XXV.

areas of progress of the Scheduled Castes due to the Constitutional measures. These areas of progress are: access to religious temples and lessening of ritual and social distances, integration of all caste groups, including the Scheduled Castes in schools and colleges, share of political power, residential dissegregation, and occupational mobility. More precisely, the system of protective discrimination grants concessions to the Scheduled Castes in three major areas of progress. These areas are: education, employment and political power.

The protective discrimination, evolved in the nineteenth century, is an official discrimination in favour of the most 'backward' section of the people, i.e. Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in India. An assessment of operation and impact of the protective discrimination policy in favour of the Scheduled Castes seems long over due. "One assessment, which regards the system primarily as a means of giving extra help to those who need it most, holds that --- the system has had some notable success, and members of the affected groups are playing a more prominent role in public life ---. The contrary assessment regards the system primarily as the tool of those who control it, -----. The politicians of the Congress Party have learned to dominate it and through it to control a minority which might otherwise have proved troublesome---."[2]

2. Dushkin, Lelah "Scheduled Castes Politics" in The Untouchables in Contemporary India - J.M. Mahar (ed.). Arizona: University of Arizona Press, 1972, p. 165.

This minority constitutes, by and large, the 'new middle class' as we have seen in the previous chapters.

On the basis of a brief survey of literature in Chapter I, it is clear that only a small section of people of the Scheduled Castes (and Scheduled Tribes also) is availing of almost all facilities meant for the whole population of the Scheduled Castes. It is they who are involved in State and Central level politics; it is they whose children have access to education, particularly higher education, and to government jobs. The constitutional measures under the protective discrimination scheme have failed to serve the interests of a majority of the Scheduled Caste people. Dushkin[3] says that, "With the operation of the (protective discrimination) system over the years, the gap between these more fortunate ones and the rest of the Untouchables seems to have widened. The gap exists within castes, in that some families are much better off than others----".

Thus, the fortunate ones have constituted a 'vicious circle' in which others can hardly afford to enter. The reasons for such an inaccessibility may be given in terms of the lack of education and consciousness among the masses belonging to the Scheduled Caste and the lack of encourage- ment and generosity shown to them, by the well-to-do section

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3. Ibid, p. 212.

of the Scheduled Castes. The constitutional measures under
the protective discrimination policy will produce only a
new middle class among the Scheduled Castes with the present
rate of the progress.

The constitutional provisions guarantee safeguards to
the Scheduled Castes as a whole, but, in a general way, we
can say that there are a few castes amongst the Scheduled
Castes which avail the benefits of the protective discrimina-
tion to the maximum extent. These castes are Mahar in Mahara-
stra[4], Chamar, Pasi and Kori in Uttar Pradesh[5], Ramdasia and
Adi Dharmi in Punjab[6], Namasudra, Poundra, Rajbanshi and
Sunri in West Bengal[7], Malas in Andhra Pradesh[8] and so on.
More specifically, there are a certain number of people of
these castes, and not the entire castes, who get the maximum
benefits of the protective measures. This was verified in our

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4. Patwardhan, S. Change among India's Harijans: Maharastra -
    A Case Study. New Delhi: Orient Longman Ltd., 1973.

5. Bhatnagar, P.P. Census of India (Uttar Pradesh), 1961.

6. Saberwal, S. "Status, Mobility and Networks in a
    Punjabi Industrial Town" in his Beyond the Village:
    Sociological Explorations (ed.). Simla: Indian Institute
    of Advanced Study, 1972.

7. Das, Amal Kumar "Occupations and Literacy among Scheduled
    Castes in West Bengal", Mainstream, Vol. 10, Nos. 1-4
    (Annual), 1971, pp. 37-40.

8. Rao, N.V. Kameswara & M.V.T. Raju "Malas and Madigas: An
    Ethnographic Study of the Two Scheduled Castes of
    Telangana", Journal of Social Research (Special Number
    on Scheduled Castes), Vol. 18, No.2, (Sept.) 1975,
    pp. 59-68.

study also as a majority of the Scheduled Castes population
in Kanpur city is represented by Chamars, Kori, Pasi, Khatik
and Balmiki castes. These castes are represented by 87.6
per cent respondents in our sample. The literacy rate and
educational levels of people of these castes is also high
(see chapter 3).

The people of the above ementioned castes have
benefited from the policy of protective discrimination. Since
they have realised the benefits of education, they are
engaged in educating their children and improving the socio-
economic status of their families. However, they have not
succeeded so far in improving the socio-economic status of
their families. This is true, because a majority of the
respondents (78.3%) come from the families of low socio-
economic status (see chapter 4). The respondents belonging
to various Scheduled Castes are not only educationally upwar-
dly mobile but a large majority of them are upwardly mobile
from the points of all the dimensions of education, jobs,income,
expenditure patterns and social power. Again, from the point
of view of a multi-dimensional framework they are upwardly
mobile in comparison to their fathers as the average score
(23.2) of their mobility is higher than that of their
fathers (8.1). In addition, the average amount of their
social mobility is 21.9 though in case of 13.3 percent

respondents the individual amount of their social mobility is between 30-44. It means a majority of the respondents (71.3%) has secured medium amount (15-29) of social mobility.

The amount of social mobility among the respondents is causally related to their age, job, service-seniority and socio-economic status of their families, i.e. the amount of social mobility is higher among those respondents who are aged, employed in higher cadres of jobs, and completing more years in service. Other variables, like caste and residential background of the respondents, do not have any impact on the amount of their social mobility. Such respondents belong to families with comparatively better socio-economic status. Finally, almost all the respondents (237) are upwardly mobile and the direction of their social mobility is not causally related to their social background in any case (chapter 4). Thus, it can be said that the trend of social mobility among the Scheduled Castes is upward though the amount of their mobility is increasing slowly.

The Rise of a New-Middle Class:

Before analysing the emergence of a 'new middle class' among the respondents it is proper to discuss, briefly, the concept of the middle class. A middle class, in strict sense, "appears to claim to have more or less common problems, and common socio-economic patterns. A middle class individual,

because of certain common traits, feels that he belongs to this class."[9] The middle class, a heterogeneous layer, emerged in India about the middle of the nineteenth century "more in consequence of changes in the system of law and public administration than in economic development and they mainly belonged to the learned professions"[10]. Mills[11] has called a similar class in America as old middle-class because, according to him, a new-middle class of the salaried persons (white collar) has emerged with a distinct style of life and value patterns. More clearly, Mills includes the managers, salaried professionals, sales people and office workers in the new middle class but in the shifts of the members of the new middle class the office workers are more represented than the people of other occupational categories.

Further, the concept of the new middle class has been used for a petit bourgeoisie class also emerging out of a bulk of the lower class. Frazier[12], for example, has used the term new middle class for the Negro-bourgeoisie class

9. Prasad, Bhagwan Socio-Economic Study of Urban Middle Classes. Delhi: Sterling Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 1968, p.5.

10. Misra, B.B. The Indian Middle Classes: Their Growth in Modern Times. London: Oxford University Press, 1961, preface, p.V.

11. Mills, C.Wright White Collar: The American Middle Classes. London: Oxford University Press, 1956, pp. 63-76; 289-300.

12. Frazier, E. Franklin Black Bourgeoisie: The Rise of a New Middle Class. New York: The Free Press, 1966.

infiltrated from the Negro masses in the United States.
Frazier includes the businessmen, educated white collar
workers and politicians of the Negro community in this class.
Besides, there are several studies[13] which analyse the
origin and growth of new classes in different societies. But
such classes certainly do not correspond to a new middle
class.

In India the concept of the new-middle class is
associated specifically with the well-to-do section of the
Scheduled Castes as stated in chapters 1 and 2. Dushkin[14],
for instance, has referred to a "new class" among the
Scheduled Castes which avail of education, job and political
opportunities meant for the community as a whole. However,
Dushkin does not intend to operationalise the "new class" at
the conceptual level. Further, Roy Burman[15] has analysed the
"new middle class" in terms of a section of people belonging
to the Scheduled Castes who avail of the reservation facilities
and belong to families of the marginal farmers. But he also

13. Djilas, Milovan   The New Class: An Analysis of the
    Communist System. New York: Frederick A. Praeger,
    Publisher, 1957; The New Classes - Robert Miller. London:
    Longmans, 1966.

14. Dushkin, Lelah   Op. Cit., pp. 212-213.

15. Roy Burman, B.K.   Panel Discussion on Land Reforms -
    Sociological Perspective (Unpublished). New Delhi:
    Council for Cultural Studies India International Centre,
    (Aug. 24) 1972, p.3.

does not emphasize the problems of status-anxiety and status-identification of this class.

We have seen in Chapters 5 and 6 that a large majority of the respondents employed in various cadres of jobs have acquired a middle class status, and they identify at the level of contra-identification. We have also seen that these respondents have improved their caste status, alongwith their social status in the multiple status-hierarchy. Such respondents are unevenly distributed from the points of view of their caste, age, educational qualification, job-cadres and job-seniority, residence, and socio-economic status of their families. They have categorically mentioned their class status similar to the status of middle class which is constituted by the persons belonging to other castes. Some of the respondents have assessed their status like the status of lower and upper sub-classes of middle class.

Further, it is clear from both the subjective and objective techniques of status evaluation that a large majority of the respondents belonged to the middle class. Around 77 per cent respondents perceived their status in the middle class. Such a perceived middle class status of the respondents was verified by their acquaintances also. In case of 69.2 per cent respondents their acquaintances also placed them in the middle class. The middle class status of the

respondents was approved on the basis of their socio-economic status also. Further, a majority of the respondents acquired a middle level social status, in the multiple status hierarchy, on the basis of subjective, composite and corporate criteria of status evaluation. In actual sense, these are the respondents who constitute a new middle class in our sample.

We observed in chapter 5 that there was a corresponding relationship between caste and class statuses of most of the respondents. The main indicators for measuring the congruence between class and caste statuses were respondents' perception and their interaction with non-scheduled caste acquaintances. A majority of the respondents extended their interaction with their acquaintances irrespective of their age, caste, job-cadres and job-seniority, and residential background. But these respondents certainly considered the socio-economic status of their families while extending their interaction with their acquaintances (see Table 5.9 in Chapter V). Though there were some variations in numbers of the respondents having congruity between both the types of statuses, yet a large majority of the respondents (84.2%) did not suffer from status-anxiety resulting from incongruity between their statuses in the caste and class hierarchies. Among them there were those respondents also who did not perceive a congruence between their two types of statuses.

Further, there were only 15.8 per cent respondents who suffered from status-anxiety resulting from incongruity between their class and caste statuses, and also from their low social status in the multiple status hierarchy. Such respondents felt worried at the time of their occasional humiliation by people of non-scheduled castes (See Table 5.12 in Chapter 5).

Thus, apparently it can be inferred from the data that a majority of the respondents did not bother about their 'corporate' status (the rank of their caste in the caste-hierarchy). They were satisfied with their social status acquired through their 'secular' achievements and their interaction with their non-scheduled caste acquaintances. The respondents who suffered from status-anxiety, probably could not improve their social status by that time.

The recent trend of identification among the Scheduled Castes is to 'pass'[16] the identity of their origin. It means they have realised very well the futility of Sanskritization[17] as well as adoption of certain reference group/individual behaviour[18] in the caste system. Sanskritization is no more

16. Isaacs, Harold R.   India's Ex-untouchables. Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1965, pp. 143-149.
17. Srinivas, M.N. Social Change in Modern India. Bombay: Orient Longman, 1972, pp. 1-45.
18. Merton, R.K. Social Theory and Social Structure. New Delhi: Amerind Publishing Co. Pvt. Ltd., 1968.

a means to achieve their ends and so is the adoption of reference behaviour. Therefore, either they return to ethno-centrism or they prefer to a contra-identification in which they neither identify with their caste status nor with the status of upper castes. Most of them identify at the class level while others at non-caste-class level. Such an identi-fication may be regarded in terms of their negation of the identification at the caste level. The identification at the class level is specifically at the level of a 'new middle class' which is quite different from the old middle class.

The 'new middle class' status of most of the responde-nts belonging to various Scheduled Castes is also supported by the fact that their origin as a member of middle class is of short duration in comparison to members of the old middle class. Moreover, they have come to this level with the support of the 'protective discrimination' which is not available to the members of the old middle class. In addition, members of the new middle class suffer, in one way or the other, from their "stigmatized identity" in the caste system. This problem does not exist in case of members of the old middle class who belong to various non-scheduled castes.

Isaacs[19] has a clearer perception of identification

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19. Isaacs, Harold R.   Op. Cit.
      .... , ...

of well-to-kdo persons belonging to the Scheduled Castes. In his view, "The young people getting educated are being separated from the rest of their people. The mass consists of the less enterprising who are stuck in the mud, and where the educated ones will go, no one knows". For such a state of affairs Isaacs[20] uses the term "semi-limbo" in which the well-to-do persons of the Scheduled Castes are hanging in between two identities - the identity of their origin and the identity of their destiny.

Our data support Isaacs' view with some reservation. At the identification level, a large majority (90.8%) of the respondents identified themselves at the level of contra-identification as stated earlier. There were only 9.2 percent respondents who believed in ethnocentrism. But the majority of the respondents (The members of the 'new-middle class') are in a state of ambivalence where, on one hand, they negate the identity of their origin which attributes an inferior status to them, and on the other, they establish their loyalty to their caste background for securing the benefits of the 'protective discrimination'. More than that, they are reminded of the identity of their origins in formal and informal situations of interaction with members of the old middle class.

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20. Ibid, pp. 128-142.

Thus, the emerging trend among the well-to-do persons of the Scheduled Castes, benefited from the 'protective discrimination policy', brings them to a level where they are unable to establish their free intercourse with the Scheduled Caste masses, and, in search of a new identity, they form a new middle class.

Table 4.1 : Caste-wise variation of educational qualification of respondents and their fathers.

Caste back-ground	Variation of educational qualification			Total
	Less than father	equal	More than father	
Balmiki	-	1(9.1)	10(90.9)	11(100.0)
Chamar	-	3(2.2)	134(97.8)	137(100.0)
Dhobi	-	1(5.9)	16(94.1)	17(100.0)
Khatik	-	-	8(100.0)	8(100.0)
Kori	2(5.7)	-	33(94.3)	35(100.0)
Pasi	-	1(5.0)	19(95.0)	20(100.0)
Others	-	3(25.0)	9(75.0)	12(100.0)
Total	2	9	229	240

Table: 4.2 : Residence-wise variation of educational qualification of respondents and their fathers.

Residential background	Variation of educational qualification			Total
	Less than father	Equal	More than fathers	
Village	1(0.6)	2(1.2)	164(98.2)	167(100.0)
Town	-	-	4(100.0)	4(100.0)
City	1(1.4)	7(10.1)	61(88.5)	69(100.0)
Total	2	9	229	240

Table 4.3: Socio-economic status of family and variation of educational qualification of respondents and their fathers.

Socio-economic status of family	Variation of educational qualification			Total
	Less than fathers	Equal	More than fathers	
Low	-	7(3.7)	181(96.3)	188(100.0)
Medium	2(4.2)	1(2.1)	45(93.7)	48(100.0)
High	-	1(25.0)	3(75.0)	4(100.0)
Total	2	9	229	240

Table 4.4: Age-wise variation of educational qualification of respondents and their fathers.

Age group (in years)	Variation of educational qualification			Total
	Less than fathers	Equal	More than fathers	
20-24	-	2(6.5)	29(93.5)	31(100.0)
25-29	-	2(2.7)	71(97.3)	73(100.0)
30-34	-	1(1.4)	71(98.6)	72(100.0)
35-39	-	1(3.4)	28(96.6)	29(100.0)
40-44	1(4.0)	3(12.0)	21(84.0)	25(100.0)
≥ 45	1(10.0)	-	9(90.0)	10(100.0)
Total	2	9	229	240

Table 4.5: Service-seniority of respondents and variation of educational qualification of them and their fathers

Service seniority (in years)	Variation of educational qualification			Total
	Less than father	Equal	More than father	
₹ 5	1(1.1)	4(4.5)	83(94.4)	88(100.0)
6-10	1(1.5)	-	66(98.5)	67(100.0)
11-15	-	2(4.1)	47(95.9)	49(100.0)
16-20	-	-	25(100.0)	25(100.0)
21-25	-	1(14.3)	6(85.7)	7(100.0)
﹥ 25	-	2(50.0)	2(50.0)	4(100.0)
Total	2	9	229	240

Table 4.6: Caste-wise variation of jobs of the respondents and their fathers.

Caste background	Variation of jobs			Total
	Lower than father	Equal	Higher than father	
Balmiki	–	5	6	11
Chamar	8	13	116	137
Dhobi	–	2	15	17
Khatik	–	–	8	8
Kori	1	6	28	35
Pasi	–	2	18	20
Others	1	2	9	12
Total	10	30	200	240

Table 4.7: Age-wise variation of jobs of the respondents
and their fathers.

| Age (in years) | Variation of jobs | | | Total |
	Lower than father	Equal	Higher than father	
20-24	1	8	22	31
25-29	2	6	65	73
30-34	3	4	65	72
35-39	2	6	21	29
40-44	-	5	20	25
≥45	2	1	7	10
Total	10	30	200	240

Table 4.8: Residence-wise variation of jobs of the respondents
and their fathers.

| Residential background | Variation of jobs | | | Total |
	Lower than father	Equal	Higher than father	
Village	4	14	149	167
Town	1	2	1	4
City	5	14	50	69
Total	10	30	200	240

Table 4.9: Socio-economic status of family and variation of jobs of respondents and their fathers.

Socio-economic status of family	Variation of jobs			Total
	Lower than father	Equal	Higher than father	
Low	7	24	157	188
Medium	3	6	39	40
High	-	-	4	4
Total	10	30	200	240

Table 4.10: Service-seniority of the respondents and variation of jobs of them and their fathers.

Seniority (in years)	Variation of jobs			Total
	Lower than father	Equal	Higher than father	
$\leqslant$ 5	4	11	73	88
6 - 10	1	6	60	67
11 - 15	1	9	39	49
16 - 20	3	3	19	25
21 - 25	1	1	5	7
> 25	-	-	4	4
Total	10	30	200	240

Table 4.11: Residential background and variation of income of the respondents and their fathers

Residential background	Variation of income			Total
	Lower than father	Equal	Higher than father	
Village	10	-	157	167
Town	-	-	4	4
City	7	1	61	69
Total	17	1	222	240

Table 4.12: Socio-Economic status of family and variation of income of the respondents and their fathers

Socio-economic status of family	Income Variation			Total
	Lower than father	Equal	Higher than father	
Low	13	-	175	188
Medium	4	1	43	48
High	-	-	4	4
Total	17	1	222	240

Table 4.13: Respondents' job cadres and variation of
essential expenditure of them and their fathers

Job-cadres	Variation of essential expenditure (per month)			Total
	Lower than father	Equal	Higher than father	
1. Sweeper (IV)	1(14.3)	-	6(85.7)	7(100.0)
2. Non-Sweeper(IV)	3(9.1)	-	30(90.9)	33(100.0)
3. Lower Division Clerk	10(25.0)	-	30(75.0)	40(100.0)
4. Upper Division clerk	11(11.3)	2(2.1)	84(86.6)	97(100.0)
5. Lower Technical staff	4(21.1)	-	15(79.9)	19(100.0)
6. Supervisory staff	3(9.4)	-	29(90.6)	32(100.0)
7. Officer (II)	-	-	8(100.0)	8(100.0)
8. Officer (I)	-	-	4(100.0)	4(100.0)
Total	32	2	206	240

Table 4.14: Respondents' job cadres and variation of semi-
essential expenditure of them and their fathers.

| Job-cadres | Variation of semi-essential expenditure (per month) | | | Total |
	Lower than father	Equal	Higher than father	
1. Sweeper (IV)	–	1(14.3)	6(85.7)	7(100.0)
2. Non-sweeper (IV)	4(12.1)	1(3.0)	28(84.9)	33(100.0)
3. Lower Division clerk	2(5.0)	2(5.0)	36(90.0)	40(100.0)
4. Upper Division clerk	6(6.2)	2(2.1)	89(91.7)	97(100.0)
5. Lower Technical staff	2(10.5)	1(5.3)	16(84.2)	19(100.0)
6. Supervisory staff	–	–	32(100.0)	32(100.0)
7. Officer (II)	–	–	8(100.0)	8(100.0)
8. Officer (I)	–	–	4(100.0)	4(100.0)
Total	14	7	219	240

Table 4.15: Residence-wise variation of essential and semi-essential expenditures of respondents and their fathers

| Residential background | Variation of expenditure | | | Total |
	Lower than father	Equal	Higher than father	
Village	24(9)	2(4)	141(154)	167
Town	--	-	4(4)	4
City	8(5)	-(3)	61(61)	69
Total	32(14)	2(7)	206(219)	240

Note: Figures in brackets are about the semi-essential expenditure.

Table 4.16: Service-seniority of respondents and variation of essential and semi-essential expenditures of them and their fathers

| Service-seniority (in years) | Expenditure variation | | | Total |
	Lower than father	Equal	Higher than father	
≤ 5	22(8)	2(2)	64(78)	88
6-10	8(2)	-(3)	59(62)	67
11-15	2(1)	-(2)	47(46)	49
16-20	-(1)	-	25(24)	25
21-25	-(1)	-	7(6)	7
> 25	-(1)	-	4(3)	4
Total	32(14)	2(7)	206(219)	240

Note: Figures in brackets are about the semi-essential expenditure.

Table 4.17: Residence-wise variation of social power of the respondents and their fathers

| Residential background | Variation of social power | | | Total |
	Less than father	Equal	More than father	
Village	23	39	105	167
Town	-	1	3	4
City	10	12	47	69
Total	33	52	155	240

Table 4.18: Caste background of the respondents and the amount of their social mobility

| Caste background | Amount of mobility | | | Total |
	Low (0-14)	Medium (15-29)	High (30-44)	
Balmiki	3	7	-	10 (17.5)
Chamar	16	98	22	136 (22.6)
Dhobi	3	14	-	17 (19.3)
Khatik	-	6	2	8 (25.7)
Kori	6	25	3	34 (19.8)
Pasi	3	16	1	20 (20.5)
Others	3	5	4	12 (23.3)
Total	34	171	32	237 (21.9)

$$x^2 = 17.1, \text{ df.} = 12, \quad P > .05, \quad C = .250$$

Table 4.19: Residential background of respondents and the amount of their social mobility

Residential background	Amount of mobility			Total
	Low (0-14)	Medium (15-29)	High (30-44)	
Village	19	123	24	166 (22.4)
Town	1	2	1	4 (22.0)
City	14	46	7	67 (20.4)
Total	34	171	32	237 (21.9)

$$x^2 = 5.5 \ , \ df. = 4 \ , \ P > .05, \ C = .151$$

Table 4.20: Respondents' completion of duration in the service and the amount of their social mobility

Completion of duration in present job (in years)	Amount of mobility			Total
	Low (0-14)	Medium (15-29)	High (30-44)	
≤ 5	15	68	3	86 (19.9)
6-10	6	51	10	67 (22.9)
11-15	7	33	9	49 (22.6)
16-20	4	14	6	24 (23.2)
21-25	2	3	2	7 (22.0)
> 25	-	2	2	4 (29.5)
Total	34	171	32	237 (21.9)

$$x^2 = 20.0 \ , \ df. = 10 \ , \ P < .05, \ C = .270$$

Table 4.21: Respondents' caste-background and the direction of their social mobility

Caste background	Mobility-direction			Total
	Downward	Horizontal	Upward	
Balmiki	1	–	10	11
Chamar	1	–	136	137
Dhobi	–	–	17	17
Khatik	–	–	8	8
Kori	1	–	34	35
Pasi	–	–	20	20
Others	–	–	12	12
Total	3	–	237	240

$$x^2 = 7.2 \ , \quad df. = 12 \ , \quad P > .80 \ , \quad C = .029$$

Table 4.22: Respondents' age and the direction of their social mobility

Respondents' age (in years)	Direction of mobility			Total
	Downward	Horizontal	Upward	
20-24	2	–	29	31
25-29	–	–	73	73
30-34	–	–	72	72
35-39	–	–	29	29
40-44	1	–	24	25
$\geqslant$ 45	–	–	10	10
Total	3	–	237	240

$$x^2 = 10.6 \ , \quad df. = 10 \ , \quad P < .50 \ , \quad C = .201$$

Table 4.23: Residential background of respondents and the direction of their social mobility

Residential background	Direction of mobility			Total
	Downward	Horizontal	Upward	
Village	1	–	166	167
Town	–	–	4	4
City	2	–	67	69
Total	3	–	237	240

$$x^2 = 2.6 \ , \ df.=4 \ , \ P > .50 \ , \ C = .011$$

Table 4.24: Socio-economic status of respondents' family and the direction of their social mobility

Family's socio-economic status	Mobility-direction			Total
	Downward	Horizontal	Upward	
Low	2	–	186	188
Medium	1	–	47	48
High	–	–	4	4
Total	3	–	237	240

$$x^2 = .375 \ , \ df.=4 \ , \ P < .99 \ , \ C = .045$$

Table 4.25: Completion of service duration and the direction of social mobility

Service comple-tion in the present job (in years)	Mobility-direction			Total
	Downward	Horizontal	Upward	
$\leqslant$ 5	2	-	86	88
6-10	-	-	67	67
11-15	-	-	49	49
16-20	1	-	24	25
21-25	-	-	7	7
$>$ 25	-	-	4	4
Total	3	-	237	240

$$x^2 = 6.3 , \quad df.=10, \quad P < .80 , \quad C = .161$$

Table 5.1: Respondents' caste background and their perception of own class status

Caste background	Self perceived social status			Total
	Lower	Middle	Upper	
Balmiki	4	7	-	11
Chamar	25	105	7	137
Dhobi	3	13	1	17
Khatik	1	7	-	8
Kori	5	28	2	35
Pasi	2	18	-	20
Others	2	7	3	12
Total	42	185	13	240

$$x^2 = 15.3 , \quad df. = 12, \quad P > .05, \quad C = .244$$

Table 5.2: Age of the respondents and their perception of their status in the class-hierarchy

| Age (in years) | Self perceived status | | | Total |
	Lower	Middle	Upper	
20-24	5	24	2	31
25-29	10	61	2	73
30-34	18	51	3	72
35-39	4	23	2	29
40-44	4	18	3	25
$\geqslant$45	1	8	1	10
Total	42	185	13	240

$$x^2 = 8.1 \ , \ df.=10 \ , \ P>.05 \ , \ C = .081$$

Table 5.3 : Respondents' seniority in jobs and their self-perceived class status

| Seniority in the job (in years) | Self perceived status | | | Total |
	Lower	Middle	High	
$\leqslant 5$	16	65	7	88
6-10	7	59	1	67
11-15	12	35	2	49
16-20	6	16	3	25
21-25	-	7	-	7
> 25	1	3	-	4
Total	42	185	13	240

$$x^2 = 13.3 \ , \ df.=10, \ P >.05 \ , \ C = .228$$

Table 5.6: Caste background of respondents and their class status perceived by their acquaintances

Caste background	Class status perceived by acquaintances			Total
	Lower	Middle	Upper	
Balmiki	4	4	3	11
Chamar	15	99	23	137
Dhobi	2	10	5	17
Khatik	-	7	1	8
Kori	2	23	10	35
Pasi	1	13	6	20
Others	-	10	2	12
Total	24	166	50	240

$$x^2 = 18.0 \ , \quad df. = 12 \ , \quad P > .10 \ , \quad C = .265$$

Table 5.7: Respondents' residential background & their class status perceived by their acquaintances

Residential background	Class status perceived by acquaintances			Total
	Lower	Middle	Upper	
Village	17	117	33	167
Town	-	4	-	4
City	7	45	17	69
Total	24	166	50	240

$$x^2 = 2.5 \ , \quad df. = 4, \quad P > .05 \ , \quad C = .1$$

Table 5.8: Respondents seniority in job and their class
status perceived by their acquaintances

| Job- seniority (in years) | Class Status perceived by acquaintances | | | Total |
	Lower	Middle	Upper	
$\leqslant 5$	9	60	19	88
6-10	10	49	8	67
11-15	4	35	10	49
16-20	1	16	8	25
21-25	-	5	2	7
> 25	-	1	3	4
Total	24	166	50	240

$$x^2 = 15.1 , \quad df.=10 , \quad P > .05 , \quad C = .242$$

Table 5.9: Socio-economic status of family & class status
of respondents perceived by their acquaintances

| Family's socio-economic status | Class status perceived by acquaintances | | | Total |
	Lower	Middle	Upper	
Low	21	131	36	188
Medium	3	32	13	48
High	-	3	1	4
Total	24	166	50	240

$$x^2 = 2.3 , \quad df. = 4 , \quad P > .05 , \quad C = .03$$

Table 5.10 : Seniority in the job and change in status in the caste-hierarchy due to change in status in class-hierarchy

Seniority in the job (in yrs)	Change in status in caste hierarchy							Total
	No change	Rise in family status	Conscious ness increased	Non-Sc's better behaviour	Respect in cities	Jealousy due to better family status	Other afraid in humiliating	
$\leqslant 5$	10	11	7	32	17	9	2	88
6-10	13	3	4	32	7	1	7	67
11-15	5	1	5	25	11	-	2	49
16-20	4	4	3	9	3	1	1	25
21-25	3	1	-	1	2	-	-	7
> 25	-	1	3	-	-	-	-	4
Total	35	21	22	99	40	11	12	240

$$x^2 = 103.6 \;, \; df.= 30 \;, \; P < .001 \;, \; C = .548$$

Table 5.11: Residential background and change in status in the caste-hierarchy due to change in status in the class-hierarchy

Residential back ground	Change in status in the caste-hierarchy							Total
	No change	Rise in family status	Consciousness increased	Non-Sc's better behaviour	Respect in dities	Jealousy due to better family status	Other afraid in humiliating	
Village	21	17	19	65	29	5	11	167
Town	--	-	-	1	3	--	-	4
City	14	4	3	33	8	6	1	69
Total	35	21	22	99	40	11	12	240

$X^2 = 23.9$, df.= 12, P $<$ .05 , C = .313

Table 5.12: Respondents' caste background and change in their status in caste-hierarchy due to change in status in class-hierarchy

Caste back ground	Change in status in caste hierarchy							Total
	No change	Rise in family status	Conscious ness increased	Non-Sc's better behaviour	Respect in cities	Jealousy due to better family status	Other afraid inn humiliating	
Balmiki	2	--	--	7	1	1	-	11
Chamar	25	11	17	47	23	7	7	137
Dhobi	--	1	1	13	1	--	1	17
Khatik	--	--	--	5	2	--	1	8
Kori	1	3	1	18	8	2	2	35
Pasi	3	2	1	8	5	--	1	20
Others	4	4	2	1	-	1	-	12
Total	35	21	22	99	40	11	12	240

$$x^2 = 51.2 \quad , \text{ df.} = 36 \text{ , } P < .05 \text{ , } C = .418$$

Table 5.13: Age-wise interaction with non-scheduled caste acquaintances.

Age (in years)	Interaction with non-scheduled caste acquaintances												Total
	Attending ceremonies				Taking meal				Kitchen entry				
	None	Some	Most	All	None	Some	Most	All	None	Some	Most	All	
20-24	13	12	1	5	11	12	3	5	13	12	2	4	31
25-29	21	34	9	9	18	38	10	7	48	12	7	6	73
30-34	26	37	7	2	29	36	6	1	51	15	4	2	72
35-39	8	13	5	3	8	18	2	1	19	8	2	-	29
40-44	5	13	1	6	6	12	1	6	17	5	1	2	25
⩾ 45	3	3	2	2	4	2	2	2	4	2	2	2	10
Total	76	112	25	27	76	118	24	22	152	54	18	16	240

$df.=15$, $X^2=14.6$, $P > .05$, $X^2=26.6$, $P < .05$, $X^2=20.9$, $P > .05$,

$c = .238$ $C = .316$ $C = .282$

Table 5.14: Respondents' caste background and their interaction
with non-scheduled caste acquaintances

Caste of the respondents	Interaction with non-scheduled caste acquaintances												Total
	Attending ceremonies				Taking meals				Kitchen entry				
	None	Some	Most	All	None	Some	Most	All	None	Some	Most	All	
Balmiki	4	7	–	–	5	6	–	–	11	–	–	–	11
Chamar	47	62	11	17	44	66	13	14	82	35	9	11	137
Dhobi	3	8	3	3	6	6	3	2	8	5	2	2	17
Khatik	2	4	2	–	1	6	1	–	5	2	1	–	8
Kori	8	17	6	4	8	18	5	4	22	7	4	2	35
Pasi	10	8	1	1	10	8	1	1	15	3	1	1	20
Others	2	6	2	2	2	8	1	1	9	2	1	–	12
Total	76	112	25	27	76	118	24	22	152	54	18	16	240

df=18 , X^2=16.0, P $>$ .05, X^2=19.2, P $>$ .05, X^2=14.2 , P $>$ .05,
C = .256   C = .266   C = .236

Table 5.15: Service seniority of the respondents and their interaction with non-scheduled caste acquaintances

Service seniority (in years)	Attending ceremonies				Taking meals				Kitchen entry				Total
	None	Some	Most	All	None	Some	Most	All	None	Some	Most	All	
$\leqslant$ 5	31	35	11	11	25	41	12	10	50	22	8	8	88
6-10	21	37	6	3	22	37	6	2	47	13	5	2	67
11-15	14	23	6	6	19	23	4	3	32	12	3	2	49
16-20	7	14	1	3	8	13	1	3	18	5	1	1	25
21-25	1	3	-	3	-	4	-	3	3	2	-	2	7
$>$ 25	2	-	1	1	2	-	1	1	2	-	1	1	4
Total	76	112	25	27	76	118	24	22	152	54	18	16	240

df.=15, x^2=18.0, P>.05, x^2= 24.1 , P<.10, x^2=16.7, P>.05,

C = .271   C = .301   C = .255

Table 5.16: Residential background and interaction with non-scheduled caste acquaintances

Residen-tial back ground	Interaction with non-scheduled caste acquaintances												Total
	Attending ceremonies				Taking meals				Kitchen entry				
	No ne	So me	Mo st	All	No ne	So me	Mo st	All	No Na	So me	Mo st	All	
Village	53	84	14	16	50	68	16	13	108	40	10	0	167
Town	1	2	1	-	1	2	1	-	1	2	1	-	4
City	22	26	10	11	25	28	7	9	43	12	7	7	69
Total	76	112	25	27	76	118	24	22	152	54	18	16	240

df.= 6, x^2=6.5 , P>.05, x^2=10.4, P>.05, x^2=8.0, P>.05,
C =.161   C = .202   C = .178

Table 5.17: Designation of the respondents and interaction of non-scheduled caste acquaintances with them

| Designation of the respondents | Interaction of non-scheduled caste acquaintances with the respondents | | | | | | | | | | | | Total |
| | Attending ceremonies | | | | Taking meal | | | | Kitchen entry | | | | |
	None	Some	Most	All	None	Some	Most	All	None	Some	Most	All	
1.Sweeper (IV)	5	2	-	-	6	1	-	-	6	1	-	-	7
2.non-Sweeper (IV)	10	16	2	5	11	18	-	4	20	8	5	-	33
3.L.D.C.	10	22	5	3	9	25	2	4	25	10	3	2	40
4.U.D.C.	35	45	8	9	26	53	5	13	20	30	18	29	97
5.L.T.S.	7	8	2	2	7	8	2	2	8	7	4	-	19
6.Supervisory staff	7	13	6	6	5	13	7	7	10	15	2	5	32
7.Officer (II)	3	2	1	2	2	3	-	3	6	2	-	-	8
8.Officer (I)	-	2	1	1	-	2	1	1	4	-	-	-	4
Total	77	110	25	28	66	123	17	34	99	73	32	36	240

df.=21, x^2= 19.7 , P >.50 , x^2=39.4 , P<.01, x^2=68.2, P<.001,
C = .270   C = .375   C = .470

Table 5.19: Caste of the respondents and interaction of non-scheduled caste acquaintances with respondents

Castes	Interaction of non-scheduled caste acquaintances with respondents												Total
	Attending ceremonies				Taking meals				Kitchen entry				
	No ne	So me	Mo st	All	No ne	So me	Mo st	All	No ne	So me	Mo st	All	
Balmiki	5	5	1	0	6	3	1	1	10	1	-	-	11
Chamar	45	63	13	16	32	76	7	22	61	35	16	25	137
Dhobi	4	7	1	5	5	6	1	5	13	1	2	1	17
Khatik	2	5	1	0	1	6	0	1	2	3	-	3	8
Kori	11	14	7	3	0	18	6	2	5	14	10	6	35
Pasi	7	10	1	2	9	9	1	1	1	16	2	1	20
Others	3	6	1	2	4	5	1	2	7	3	2	-	12
Total	77	110	25	28	66	123	17	34	99	73	32	36	240

df.=18, X^2=13.9, P>.05 , X^2=24.1 , P>.05, X^2= 65.5, P< .001,

C = .234   C = .301   C = .463

Table 5.19: Respondents residential background and interaction of non-scheduled castes acquaintances with the respondents

Residential back ground	Interaction of non-scheduled caste acquaintances												Total
	Attending ceremonies				Taking meal				Kitchen entry				
	No none	So me	Mo st	All	No na	So me	Mo st	All	No ne	So me	Mo st	All	
Village	53	83	16	15	41	94	12	20	72	44	29	22	167
Town	1	2	1	-	1	2	1	-	3	1	-	-	4
City	23	25	9	13	24	27	4	14	24	28	3	14	69
Total	77	110	25	28	66	123	17	34	99	73	32	36	240

df.= 6, x^2=7.6, P>.05, x^2=9.6, P>.05, x^2=13.6, P<.05, C = .176 C = .197 C = .232

Table 5.20: Age of the respondents and interaction of non-scheduled caste acquaintances with them.

Age (in years)	Interaction of non-scheduled caste acquaintances												Total
	Attending ceremonies				Taking meal				Kitchen entry				
	No none	Some	Most	All	No none	Some	Most	All	No none	Some	Most	All	
20-24	1?	13	2	?	5	19	–	7	6	10	7	8	31
25-29	21	34	?	10	23	31	?	11	17	24	19	13	73
30-34	28	31	?	2	23	39	4	6	31	27	4	10	72
35-39	?	16	4	1	6	20	2	1	19	4	2	4	29
40-44	?	7	2	?	7	?	2	?	19	5	–	1	25
≥45	2	6	1	1	2	6	1	1	7	3	–	–	10
Total	77	11?	25	2?	6?	123	17	34	9?	73	32	36	240

df.=15 , x^2=23.? , P$<$.1?, x^2=2?.2 , P$<$.10, x^2=52.9, P$<$.001

C = .2??   C = .?1   C = .424

Table 5.21: Service seniority of the respondents and interaction of non-scheduled caste acquaintances with them

Service seniority (in yrs.)	Interaction of non-scheduled castes acquaintances with the respondents												Total
	Attending ceremonies				Taking meals				Kitchen entry				
	None	Some	most	All	None	Some	Most	All	None	Some	Most	All	
≤5	27	40	9	12	22	46	7	13	24	29	15	20	88
6-10	22	34	7	4	20	35	5	7	28	23	8	8	67
11-15	19	19	7	4	15	24	3	7	30	10	6	3	49
16-20	7	13	1	4	7	14	1	3	9	8	3	5	25
21-25	1	2	-	4	1	2	-	4	5	2	-	-	7
>25	1	2	1	-	1	2	1	-	3	1	-	-	4
Total	77	110	25	28	66	123	17	34	99	73	32	36	240

df.=15, x^2= 22.4, P .10, x^2=16.0 , P >.05, x^2=24.8,,P.05

C = .29 C = .240 C = .72

Table: 5.22: Socio-economic status of the respondents'family and interaction of non-scheduled caste acquaintances with them

Family's socio-economic status	Interaction of non-scheduled caste acquaintances with the respondents.												Total
	Attending ceremonies				Taking meal				Kitchen entry				
	No ne	So me	Mo st	All	No ne	So me	Mo st	All	No ne	So me	Mo st	All	
Low	65	09	13	2·	67	97	7	27	86	53	25	24	188
Medium	12	20	6	6	9	24	6	7	11	19	6	12	48
High	–	1	3	–	–	2	22	–	2	1	1	–	4
Total	77	110	25	2·	66	123	17	34	99	73	32	36	240

df.= 6, x^2=24.1 , P $<$.001, x^2=27.2 , P $<$.001, x^2= 11.4 P$>$.05,

C = .3   C = .310   C = .214

Table 5.23: Respondents' seniority in the jobs and their
social status in the neighbourhood

Seniority in the job (in years)	Social status in the neighbourhood			
	Low	Middle	High	Total
≤ 5	13	45	30	88
6-10	3	47	17	67
11-15	5	28	16	49
16-20	3	13	9	25
21-25	--	4	3	7
> 25	1	2	1	4
Total	25	139	76	240

$$x^2 = 9.1, \quad df. = 10, \quad P > .05, \quad C = .189$$

Table 5.24:   Respondents caste background and their social
status in the neighbourhood

Caste background	Social status in the neighbourhood			Total
	Low	Middle	High	
Balmiki	3	7	1	11
Chamar	15	84	38	137
Dhobi	2	5	10	17
Khatik	-	4	4	8
Kori	3	21	11	35
Pasi	1	12	7	20
Others	1	6	5	12
Total	25	139	76	240

$$x^2 = 15.3 \ , \ df. = 12, \ P > .05, \ C = .245$$

Table 5.25: Residential background and social status in the neighbourhood

Residential background	Social status in the neighbourhood			
	Low	Middle	High	Total
Village	18	103	46	167
Town	-	3	1	4
City	7	33	29	69
Total	25	139	76	240

$$x^2 = 5.6 \; , \; df. = 4, \; P > .05, \; C = .151$$

Table 5.26: Socio-economic status of family and social status of the respondents in neighbourhood

Family's Socio-economic status	Social status in neibourhood			Total
	Low	Middle	High	
Low	18	115	55	188
Medium	7	22	19	48
High	-	2	2	4
Total	25	139	76	240

$$x^2 = 4.7 \; , \; df. = 4 \; , \; P > .05 \; , \; C = .137$$

Table C.1: Residential background and identification to
visitors

Residential back ground	Levels of identification					Total
	Human being	Name	Job-cadres	Caste	Others	
Village	10	110	17	13	17	167
Town	--	4	-	-	-	4
City	1	43	9	9	4	69
Total	11	157	26	22	21	240

$$x^2 = 5.2 \ , \ df. = 8, \ P > .05, \ C = .145$$

Table 6.2: Socio-economic status of respondents' family
and their identification to a visitor

Socio-economic status	Levels of identification to visitors					Total
	Human being	Name	Caste Job-cadre	Caste	Others	
Low	10	124	20	18	16	188
Medium	4	30	5	4	5	48
High	--	3	1	-	-	4
Total	14	157	26	22	21	240

$$x^2 = 2.7 \ , \ df. = 8, \ P > .05 \ , \ C = .104$$

Table 6.3: Respondents' seniority in job & their identification to a visitor

Job-seniority (in years)	Levels of identification					Total
	Human being	Name	Job-cadres	Caste	Others	
≤ 5	7	56	9	4	12	88
6-10	3	50	6	5	3	67
11-15	1	30	5	10	3	49
16-20	2	15	4	1	3	25
21-25	-	5	1	1	-	7
> 25	1	1	1	1	-	4
Total	14	157	26	22	21	240

$$x^2 = 25.6, \quad df.=20, \quad P > .05, \quad C = .309$$

Table 6.4: Age and disclosure of caste identity to others

Age in years	Caste identity disclosure					Total
	N.A.	with caste members	Due to reservation policy	On specific occasion	Every occasion	
20-24	18	2	3	4	4	31
25-29	20	4	9	11	29	73
30-34	22	-	7	8	35	72
35-39	13	-	3	3	10	29
40-44	8	-	2	1	14	25
≥ 45	4	-	1	-	5	10
Total	85	6	25	27	97	240

$$x^2 = 27.0, \quad df.=20, \quad P > .05, \quad C = .322$$

Table 6.5: Socio-economic status of respondents' family & disclosure of their caste identity

Socio-economic status	Disclosing caste-identity					
	N.A.	With caste members	Due to reser vation	On spe cific occas- ions.	On every occasion	Total
Low	65	4	21	24	74	188
Medium	17	2	4	3	22	48
High	3	--	--	-	1	4
Total	85	6	25	27	97	240

$$x^2 = 5.1 , \text{df.} = 8, P > .05, C = .146$$

Table 6.6: Residential background and disclosure of caste-identity to others

Residential background	Disclosing caste-identity					
	N.A.	With caste members	Due to reser- vation	On spe- cific occasi- ons	On every occasion	Total
Village	65	3	19	16	64	167
Town	1	1	1	1	-	4
City	19	2	5	10	33	69
Total	85	6	25	27	97	240

$$x^2 = 13.5 , \text{df.} = 8, P < .05 , C = .253$$

Table 6.7: Respondents' seniority in job and disclosure of their caste identity

Seniority in job (in years)	Disclosing caste identity					Total
	N.A.	With caste members	Due to reservation	On specific occasion	On every occasion	
$\leq$ 5	55	2	10	0	13	80
6-10	15	3	5	10	34	67
11-15	5	-	-	5	39	49
16-20	10	1	4	1	9	25
21-25	-	-	5	-	2	7
$>$ 25	-	-	1	3	-	4
Total	85	6	25	27	97	240

$$x^2 = 123.7 , \quad df. = 20 , \quad P < .001 , \quad C = .503$$

Table 6.8: Age and identification by adding surnames

| Age (in years) | Levels of identification | | | Total |
	N.A.	Caste surnames	Surnames other than castes	
20-24	16	6	9	31
25-29	48	12	13	73
30-34	47	17	8	72
35-39	7	17	5	29
40-44	9	9	7	25
$\geq$ 45	4	4	2	10
Total	131	65	44	240

$$x^2 = 31.5 \ , \ df.=10 \ , \ P < .001 \ , \ C = .340$$

Table 6.9: Respondents' Seniority in job and their adoption of surnames

Seniority in job (in yrs.)	Adoption of surnames			Total
	N.A.	Caste name	Other than caste name	
$\leq$ 5	53	13	22	88
6-10	43	17	7	67
11-15	24	22	3	49
16-20	6	9	10	25
21-25	3	3	1	7
> 25	2	1	1	4
Total	131	65	44	240

$$x^2 = 33.5 \ , \ df.=10 \ , \ P < .001 \ , \ C = .35$$

Table 6.10: Seniority in job and adoption of reference individual behaviour

Seniority in job (in years)	Adoption of reference individual behaviour												Total
	Ritual ceremonies				Consumption pattern				Development orientation				
	None	Some	Most	All	None	Some	Most	All	None	Some	Most	All	
≤ 5	81	1	5	1	78	2	6	2	72	8	6	2	88
6-10	59	4	3	1	61	2	3	1	48	10	6	3	67
11-15	47	-	-	2	45	1	1	2	38	5	4	2	49
16-20	25	-	-	-	25	-	-	-	24	1	-	-	25
21-25	5	-	1	1	5	-	1	1	5	1	-	1	7
> 25	3	1	-	-	3	1	-	-	3	1	-	-	4
Total	220	6	9	5	217	6	11	6	190	26	16	8	240

df.=15, x^2=27.8 , P $<$ .05, x^2=17.7 , P $>$ .05, x^2=10.2, P $>$ .05

C = .567 C = .512 C = .449

Table 6.11: Caste and adoption of reference group behaviour.

| Caste back ground | Adoption of reference group behaviour | | | | | | | | | | | | Total |
| | Ritual ceremonies | | | | Consumption pattern | | | | Development orientation | | | | |
	None	Some	Most	All	None	Some	Most	All	None	Some	Most	All	
Balmiki	9	2	-	-	6	3	2	-	7	2	2	-	11
Chamar	126	11	-	-	103	27	7	-	80	40	0	-	137
Dhobi	16	1	-	-	12	2	3	-	7	6	4	-	17
Khatik	7	1	-	-	7	1	-	-	7	1	-	-	8
Kori	33	1	1	-	24	9	2	-	18	14	3	-	35
Pasi	19	1	-	-	15	4	1	-	14	3	3	-	20
Others	12	-	-	-	9	3	-	-	8	4	-	-	12
Total	222	17	1	-	176	49	15	-	149	70	21	-	240

df.=18, x^2=10.4, P>.05, x^2=21.0, P>.05, x^2=16.1 , P>.05,
C = .205   C = .205   C =.25

Interview Schedule   (Confidential)

Social Mobility and Status - Identification among the
Scheduled Castes
(A Study of Scheduled Caste Government Employees in Kanpur Cit

1.0   Identificatory information:

    1.1   (a) Department (in which employed) _____
             (b) Governed by the Centre/State
             (c) Name of the office _____
             (d) Designation _____
             (e) Class _____
             (f) Salary Rs. _____

    1.2   (a) Age _____ (b) Caste _____ (c) Educational
             Qualification _____ (d) Practical training (if
             any) _____ (e) Marital status _____ Married/
             unmarried/widow-widower/divorced (f) No. of
             children: male _____ female _____

2.0 Family background:

    2.1   Where do you hail from?
             Village/town (name)___ City (name) ___

    2.2   Give the following information about your family
             living with you in this city:

Family members (state your relationship with them)	Sex	Age	Educational qualification	Occupation.	Income (per month)	Any other
(i)	(ii)	(iii)	(iv)	(v)	(vi)	(vii
1						
2						
3						
4						
5						
'						
'						
'						
10						

2.3   If your wife and children do not stay with you, where are they living?

2.4   (a)   Are there some other members of your joint family (parents, uncle, brothers, sisters, cousings, wife, sons, daughter(s) living separately?

Yes/No

(b)   If yes, please give the following details about them.

Relationship with you	Sex	Age	Education-al qualifi-cation	Occup-ation	Income (per month)	Place of livi-ng	Any other
(i)	(ii)	(iii)	(iv)	(v)	(vi)	(vii)	(viii)
1							
2							
3							
4							
5							
"							
"							
"							
"							
10							

2.5   (a)   Do you have contacts with those members of your joint family who reside separately?

Yes/No

(b)   If yes, describe the nature of contacts - through -

i) sending money
ii) correspondence
iii) visits
iv) all

2.6   (a)   Do you own some immovable property like house,
            land, etc.?

                                        Yes/No

      (b)   If yes, give details -

                  i) house-kucha/pucca/mixed
                 ii) land (in acres) -
                iii) any other -

2.7   (a)   Do you have some other sources of income?

                                        Yes/No

      (b)   If yes, give the information about -

Source	Income (per month)
i)	
ii)	
iii)	
Total :	

PART I : (A) Social Mobility: Dimensions

3.0 Education:

3.1   From whom did you get the inspiration for your
      study?

            Father/brother/any other (specify)

3.2   From where did you get the money required for
      your study?

      a) Family   b) Government: loan/Scholarship
      (name) ____   c) Partly family and partly
      government   d) Any other source (specify)

3.3 Did you face any problem while you were a student?

Yes/No

3.4 If yes, specify -

3.5 How did you resolve those problems?

3.6 To what extent did you find education helpful in your job career?

Very much/much/little/very little/no answer

3.7 Give the following details about your educational career:

Name of the examinations passed	Location of Institutions village/ town/city	Years when passed the examination	Division obtained	Nature of courses taken such as arts, science, etc.	Remarks if any
(i)	(ii)	(iii)	(iv)	(v)	(vi)

a) High School
b) Intermediate
c) Graduation
d) Post-graduation
e) Other (if any)

3.8 Why did you discontinue your study?

4.0 Occupation and income:

4.1. Could you tell me in which occupation(s) your
father was employed when he was -

Age* (in years)	Occupation (cadre only if it was service)	Class (I, II, III, IV)	Deptt. in which employed	Governed by the Central/ State Govt./ private agency if it was service)	Salary/ income per month
25					
35					
45					
55					
65					

(* If father died earlier, state his age of death and his
last occupation)

4.2 (a) Is the present job your first job?

Yes/No

(b) If no, give the following info-rmation
regarding your previous job(s)-

Age (in years)	Occupation (cadre only if it was service)	Class (I,II, III,IV)	Deptt. in which employed	Governed by Central/ State Govt./ Private agency if it was service)	Salary per month	Period of emp- loy- ment	Reas- on for leav- ing
(i)	(ii)	(iii)	(iv)	(v)	(vi)	(vii)	(viii)
25							
35							
45							
55							

4.3   When did you join the present job?

                                    Year 19___

4.4   Why did you decide to join the present occupation?

      (a)   father asked you,
      (b)   relative advised
      (c)   friends/teachers suggested,
      (d)   yourself took the decision,
      (e)   any other reason (specify) -

4.5   Have you been appointed in this job through -

      (a)   general competition,
      (b)   competition only among the scheduled castes,
      (c)   no competition?

4.6   (a)   Did you face any difficulty in getting the
            present job?

                        Yes/No

      (b)   If yes, of what kind?

      (c)   How did you resolve that?

4.7   (a)   Do you still face any difficulty?
                                    Yes/No

      (b)   If yes, of what kind?
      (c)   Mention the source and specify the nature of
            difficulty-

            Source   Nature of difficulty

            1.   1.

            2.   2.

            3.   3.

4.8   (a)   Are you satisfied with your present job
            position?

                                    Yes/No

      (b)   If no, why? give reason (s)

5.0 Expenditure pattern:

5.1 What amount did your father spend on the following items five years ago? If father died earlier, give accounts of his last expenditure.

	Items	Approximate amount (Rs.) p.m.
i)	Housing	
ii)	Food	
iii)	Clothing	
iv)	Children's education	
v)	Medicine	
vi)	Transportation	
vii)	Recreation	
viii)	Savings (specify the forms of savings)	
ix)	Any other (specify)	
	Total	

5.2 What amount do you spend on the following items?

	Items	Approximate amount (Rs.) p.m.
i)	Housing	
ii)	Food	
iii)	Clothing	
iv)	Education	
v)	Medicine	
vi)	Transportation	
vii)	Recreation	
viii)	Support to family members (if any)	
ix)	Savings (specify the forms of savings)	
x)	Any other (specify)	
	Total	

5.3 (a) Are there some other items, besides the
          items mentioned in question 5.2, such as
          purchasing 'properties' like land, house, etc.,
          on which you spend some money?

                                              Yes/No

     (b) If yes, please specify -

     (In case there is deficit budget, the respondent
     may be asked the following question:)

5.4 How do you manage your budget?

6.0 Length of stay in cities:

6.1 (a) Had your father lived in places other than his
         native place more than one year?
                    Yes/No/D.K.

     (b) If yes, give the following information -

          Place(village/town/city)   Duration   Purpose

6.2 Could you tell me since how long have you been living
    in this city?

    For (a) 5 years, (b) 10 years, (c) more than 10
         years, (d) since birth.

6.3 In case you lived in other places also besides this
    city (except your birth place) more than one year,
    give the following information -

    Place (village/town/city)   Duration   Purpose

6.4 In which locality of the city do you reside?

6.5 Is your neighbourhood surrounded by-

    (a) Your own caste members,
    (b) other caste(s) only (give their name)
    (c) both the scheduled and non-scheduled castes,
    (d) do not know?

6.6 (a) Would you like to move out of your neighbour-
         hood/locality/city?

                                    Yes/No

    (b) Please explain -

7.0 Social Power in Formal Organizations/Associations:

    7.1 (a) Did your father have any authority and responsi-
             bility in any formal organizations and/or
             voluntary associations?
                                    Yes/No/D.K.

        (b) If yes specify -

    7.2 What authority and responsibility do you have in
        the office?

    7.3 (a) Are you attached to any association(s) run by
             the employees of your office?
                                    Yes/No

        (b) If yes, please mention the name and nature of
             association(s).

        (c) Are you an i) ordinary member, ii) executive
             member, (iii) office bearer (name of the post) -

    7.4 (a) Is there any association(s) in your neighbour-
             hood/residential locality?
                                    Yes/No/D.K.

        (b) If yes, specify the nature of membership of the
             association(s) -

             own caste/other castes only/interaaste/
             inter community.

    7.5 (a) Are you attached to the association(s) mentioned
             by you in question 7.4(a)?
                                    Yes/No
        (b) If yes, in what capacity?

             As an i) ordinary member, ii) executive member,
                    iii) office bearer (name of the post) -

(B) **Consequences of Social Mobility**

8.0 Social Interaction : with the Scheduled Castes

8.1 (a)   Do you have contacts with the Scheduled Caste members who are not related to you?

                                                    Yes/No

(b)   If yes, what is the frequency of contacts?

Regular/often/sometimes/rare/no answer

8.2 If the answer of question 8.1(a) is yes,

(a)   Do they belong to only your own caste/other Scheduled castes only/your caste as well as other scheduled castes?

(b)   are they limited to your own office/neighbourhood/ office and neighbourhood/city/outside the city?

(c)   do they belong to your/lower/higher/all income and occupational status?

8.3 If your answer to question 8.1(a) is yes, give the maximum five most recurring topics of conversations –

1)

2)

3)

4)

5)

8.4 (a)   Do you feel inhibited in discussing the above mentioned topics with other scheduled caste members in the presence of non-scheduled caste members?

                                                    Yes/No

(b)   Give reasons

9.0 Social Interaction: with the non-scheduled castes

9.1 (a)   Do you have contacts with the persons belonging to non-scheduled castes?

                                                    Yes/No

(b) If yes, what is the frequency of contacts?

Regular/often/sometimes/rate/no answer.

9.2 If the answer of question 9.1(a) is yes,

a) are they limited to your own office/neighbour-hood/office and neighbourhood both/city/ outside the city?

b) do they belong to your/lower/higher/all income and occupational status?

9.3 If your answer to question 9.1(a) is yes, give the maximum five most recurring topics of conversations -

1)

2)

3)

4)

5)

9.4 (a) Do you feel inhibited in talking to the persons belonging to non-scheduled castes?

Yes/No

(b) Please explain

10.0 Social and Ritual Distance:

10.1 (a) As you may have achieved certain prestige in the society, most of the non scheduled caste people might have changed their relations with you. Do you agree with this statement?

Yes/No/D.K.

(b) If yes, give the following information:

Items	All/most/some/none of your non-scheduled caste acquaintances allow you
to i) enter their kitchen	
ii) take meal in their house	
iii) attend ceremonies - katha/kirtan/birth day/ janeu/ wedding/shradha	
iv) any other (specify)	

11.3 (a) What social status of yourself do you perceive ?

   (b) Is your social status based on education, occupation, income, style of life and/or birth?

11.4 Do you think the others with whom you are acquainted also give the same/higher/lower social status which you perceive for yourself?

   (In case there is no similarity between the self-assessed status and the status judged by others the respondent may be asked the following question).

11.5 (a) Does a dissimilarity between your self assessed status and your status judged by others worry you?

                Yes/No/D.K.

   (b) Please explain:-

   (c) If yes, to what extent?

      Very much/much/little/very little/no answer

12.0 Status in the Class and Caste-hierarchies:

12.1 Since you have improved your educational, occupational and economic conditions in comparison to other Scheduled Caste people, do you think you have achieved a relatively better status in the class hierarchy?

                Yes/No

12.2 Did/do you expect any change in your caste-status along with a change in your class-status?

                Yes/No

12.3 (a) Do you think it has changed your caste-status?

                Yes/No

   (b) Please explain -

12.4 (a) In case your status in the class-structure
         does not influence your status in the caste-
         hierarchy does it create any status-anxiety
         (worry) in you?

                    Yes/No/D.K.

     (b) Please explain -

     (c) If yes, to what extent?

         very much/much/little/very little/no answer.

12.5 What effort(s) do you make to remove your anxiety
     (worry) for your status?

12.6 What was/is position of the people of your caste
     in the society since independence? Precise your answer
     with special reference to economic condition,
     occupational mobility, observance of rituals and
     ceremonies similar to upper castes, social distance
     from upper/middle/lower castes, use of public places,
     and obtaining the traditional services of other
     castes.

13.0 <u>Status - Identification</u>:

13.1 Suppose a person visiting your city meets you and
     asks you 'who are you?' how would you identify
     yourself to him? Give three alternatives of your
     identification in order of preference:

     1.

     2.

     3.

13.2 (a) Do you add any surname after your first name?

                    Yes/No

     (b) If yes,   i)   mention the surname -

                   ii) its meaning -

                   iii) reason for adding it -

13.3 (a) Does it become necessary to disclose your identity of belonging to Scheduled Castes?

Yes/No

(b) If yes, on what occasions?

13.4 Seeing your present socio-economic status which class do you belong to?

Upper/middle/lower

14.0 **Reference Behaviour :**

14.1 Do you perceive any individual/group of individuals who/which is your 'ideal'?

Yes/No

14.2 (a) Are you adopting behaviour and/or style of life of that individual/group of individuals?

Yes/No

If yes, b) Is it all/most/some/

c) which aspects do you imitate?

i) ritual - holding ceremonies, wearing sacred thread, etc.
ii) consumption - spending money on consumer goods
iii) development orientation - education, occupation, savings, holding properties, etc.

14.3 Why do you adopt the behaviour and/or style of life of that individual/group of individuals?

14.4 (a) In case you do not adopt the behaviour and/or style of life of your 'ideal' do you compare your behaviour and/or style of life with that of your 'ideal'?

Yes/No/D.K.

(b) Why?

(c) In what way(s) do you make this comparison?

Is it by evaluating yourself as equal/superior/
inferior?

14.5 (a) Are you satisfied with such comparison?

Yes/No

(b) Please explain -

(c) If yes, to what extent?

completely/almost/to some extent.

14.6 (a) Are you in personal contact with your 'ideal'
individual or group of individuals?

Yes/No

(b) If yes, describe the nature of contacts.

(For investigator's use only)

1. No. of visits -

2. Where interviewed - office, residence, Canteen,
elsewhere (specify) -

3. Duration of interview in minutes -

4. Others present -
Yes   NO
of own caste/other castes/own and
other caste members.

5. Interviewer's estimate of informant's
style of life -

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